

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, March, 1891.

EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION.

THE Eighth Annual Convention of the Modern Language Association, which assembled in the Chapel of Vanderbilt University on the evening of December 29th, 1890, possesses at least one feature of interest which will render it memorable to a majority of the members present on that occasion. It was the first convention of the body which had thus far been held in the South. The decision of the last Executive Council in adopting Nashville as the place of reunion for the year 1890, was perhaps not unattended with a certain risk to the success of the meeting for that year, inasmuch as the distance from the more populous States of the East and West within whose bounds the Association had hitherto convened—not to speak of the harsh weather which happened to prevail—was likely to deter a considerable number of scholars from being present to take part in its deliberations. It is therefore all the more matter for congratulation, not only for the Association at large but particularly for those whom it may be permissible to regard as most nearly concerned, that the first meeting in the Southern States could, at its close, be pronounced by all an unqualified success. The measure of attendance was good throughout, and the papers presented, covering a great variety of interests, led up to a series of discussions, participation in which was as general as it was animated.

On the opening of the Convention Prof. ALCÉE FORTIER of Tulane University, Vice-President of the Association, introduced in a few words the venerable Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, Dr. GARLAND, who delivered an address of welcome in behalf of the University.

Dr. GARLAND began his address by pointing out the incidental benefit which might be expected to flow from meetings of this character, bringing together, as they do, from the various sections of the United States, representatives of pursuits inspired by a common inter-

est, and so offering an opportunity for the propagation of a spirit of fellowship and good feeling among the members. He then dwelt upon the growing importance of the study of Modern Languages, consequent (among other causes) upon the increased facilities, within the present century, of commercial and social intercourse between the inhabitants of countries of different speech. This led the way to a general review of the progress of this study in our colleges, especially in Vanderbilt University, where the much-wished-for division of the work of instruction in Modern Languages into English, general Teutonic, and Romance departments is today an accomplished fact. Turning from the consideration of this special branch of study, the Chancellor gave a brief sketch of the history of Vanderbilt University since its foundation, including the noteworthy statement that seventeen years ago a crop of Indian corn was gathered from the ground on which the speaker was then standing. In conclusion, after eulogizing the patriotism and liberality of Commodore VANDERBILT and his descendants, Dr. GARLAND extended a cordial welcome to the visitors in the name of Vanderbilt University.

On the part of the members of the Convention, Prof. FORTIER, its presiding officer in the absence of the President owing to ill-health, briefly returned thanks for the address, taking occasion at the same time to re-state the objects of the Association. The rest of the introductory sitting was consumed in an interchange of short friendly addresses (by President GARRETT of the National Educational Association, Profs. ELLIOTT, of the Johns Hopkins University, VAN DAELL, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and WOODWARD, of the University of South Carolina), which did much to establish that cordial feeling between the visitors on the one hand, and the city and University on the other, which proved to be not the least agreeable feature of this Convention.

On the opening of the first regular session on Tuesday morning, December 30th, the yearly reports of the Secretary, Prof. ELLIOTT, and the Treasurer, Dr. TODD, were read and approved, and the usual committees appointed.

The first paper presented was that of President HENRY E. SHEPHERD of the College of Charleston, S. C., entitled "Some Phases of TENNYSON'S 'In Memoriam.'" In the absence of President SHEPHERD, his paper was read by Prof. J. P. FRUIT of Bethel College, Ky., who also opened the discussion upon it. The author introduced this paper as an effort, by means of example, to redirect the attention of the Association to what he conceives to have been its original object—to advance the study of Literature. The specific intent of the paper, as the author declares, is to suggest a broader and more critical study of "In Memoriam." It begins with a comparison of this with other masterpieces of English elegiac poetry, the parallel, in particular, between "In Memoriam" and "Lycidas" being carried out in detail. The examination disclosed a certain similarity in the conditions of intellectual life under which the two poems arose, especially as regards the profound agitation in the religious sentiment of England that preceded the production of each. The influence and respective development of these conditions was traced in the two poems. The circumstances of the intimacy which subsisted between TENNYSON and ARTHUR HALLAM were then explained, and contrasted with the relations of MILTON to the subject of his elegy; and it was pointed out that this difference should be taken into account in our consideration of the two works. The writer called attention to the use of the "In Memoriam" measure by BEN JONSON and others in the seventeenth century, and by CLOUGH a year before the publication of "In Memoriam." He added, also, several instructive explanations of allusions in various portions of TENNYSON'S poem, his main object being to show that a great English work of art like "In Memoriam" is as legitimate a subject for critical procedure as an ancient classic. Prof. FRUIT'S remarks, in the discussion of this paper, were chiefly directed to a defence of TENNYSON from the charge of coldness.

The second paper consisted of an extremely interesting and scholarly study of the "Spanish Pastoral Romances," by Mr. HUGO ALBERT RENNERT of the University of Pennsylvania, which to the great regret of the

Convention could only be read in portions, owing to its length. The author discussed the origin of the Pastoral Romance in Italy and its cultivation there as illustrated by SANNAZZARO'S "Arcadia," then its introduction into Spain about the middle of the sixteenth century by MONTEMAYOR. The "Diana" of this author was produced (about 1588) under the influence of SANNAZZARO'S romance, but exhibited inconsistencies and faults of extravagance in a higher degree than the "Arcadia." Mr. RENNERT gave an interesting sketch of the author, pointing out the relation of certain details in the "Diana" to facts in the author's own life. He then traced the course of the Spanish Pastoral Romance through the continuation of the "Diana" and its imitations—further, through the "Filida" of MONTALVO, the "Galatea" of CERVANTES, the "Arcadia" of LOPE DE VEGA, and other productions of the same kind, down to 1649, bringing his examination to a close with a view of the causes of decline of this species of fiction, which was supplanted by the *Novella Picaresca*, as it had, itself, supplanted the Romance of Chivalry. These causes appear to be found chiefly in the unvarying monotony of its incidents and in its detachment from real life. The discussion upon Mr. RENNERT'S paper was taken up by Drs. TODD and ELLIOTT of the Johns Hopkins University. The former spoke of the special interest which subjects of Spanish literature should have for American scholars, as falling in the department of literature to which American scholarship had contributed its first monumental work—TICKNOR'S "History of Spanish Literature."

The third paper read was on "Some Dialectic Survivals of Older English in Tennessee," by Mr. CALVIN S. BROWN of Vanderbilt University. Mr. BROWN presented a large number of dialect words and phrases, together with certain details of pronunciation observed in Tennessee. In few instances, however, could the examples given be accepted as characteristic solely of a Tennessean dialect, parallels being readily afforded by the experience of members present from other States. The same thing may be said of the interesting list presented subsequently by Prof. CHARLES FOSTER SMITH of Vanderbilt; and the reflec-

tion is once more forced upon our minds how urgent is the need of organized coöperation for the observation of dialect English in the United States—if nothing better, at least some organ of exchange, a clearing-house as it were, where dialectic forms from all parts of the country might be scientifically sorted. In the ensuing discussion on the subject of dialect work, which was participated in by Messrs. BABBITT of New York, VAN DAELL of Boston, JOYNES of South Carolina University, and others, the word 'flunk' received particular attention and was proved to be in use both as a transitive and as an intransitive verb. Among the more interesting notes contributed to the discussion was Prof. ELLIOTT's on the frequent substitution of an *i*-sound for an *e*-sound before nasals, in the pronunciation of Baltimore, which he was inclined to ascribe to Scandinavian influence. Prof. BASKERVILL of Vanderbilt University called attention to the analogy of the pronunciation of the word 'English' itself, and instanced a reverse process in the South, the change of the *i*-sound to an *e*-sound under like conditions. Prof. WEBB of Bellbuckle, Tenn., gave an explanation of the curious style of spelling in the "old-field" schools of the South, where each vowel was given a peculiar designation. Prof. WOODWARDS poke of the use of the word 'hog-reeve' in portions of South Carolina as a term of contempt, and cited, also, an emphatic possessive employed in the same region; as, for example, in reply to the question "Whose house is that"? "Mr. Reeves' own."

The Association then adjourned for luncheon in Wesley Hall, and resumed its sittings at 2.30 P. M.

Of the three papers announced for the afternoon session, that of Prof. F. M. PAGE of the University of the South: "Juan Ruiz de Alarcon—the Mexican," was not presented, and Dr. BASKERVILL's on "Southern Literature" was postponed until the following morning. The whole of the afternoon session, which ended at four o'clock, was therefore devoted to the reading of Prof. FRUIT's paper: "A Plea for the Study of Literature from the Æsthetic Standpoint," and to the discussion that followed. As the title betokened, Prof. FRUIT's paper was a plea for the study of the

works of literature as works of art. The writer illustrated the method of æsthetic criticism by a subtle examination of portions of the "Gardener's Daughter." It is impossible in brief space to give an idea of the contents of Prof. FRUIT's essay, which was calculated to call forth a discussion of the whole basis of literary instruction in our colleges. In the remarks offered upon it by various speakers, Dr. BASKERVILL emphasized the inherent difficulty of teaching one's own language, owing, in large measure, to the practical difficulty of inculcating just that appreciation of the æsthetic element in Literature which Professor FRUIT has at heart. Professor ELLIOTT recalled to the Convention Mr. LOWELL's happy phrase—that the literal translation is a bird in the hand, the æsthetic translation a bird in the bush. Teaching directed to æsthetic aims depends upon the receptiveness of the student. Often that which arouses emotions of beauty in the teacher finds no response in the student. Where such an incapacity exists, how are we to proceed?

Before the afternoon adjournment, it was found desirable to alter the time set for the close of the convention. Many gentlemen being compelled by the nature of their engagements to leave the city early the next evening, the session which had been appointed for that evening was advanced to the evening of December 30.

During the recess which followed the afternoon adjournment the members of the Convention, as a body, were most hospitably entertained by Mr. E. W. COLE (Treasurer of Vanderbilt University) and Mrs. COLE, at a reception and musicale given at their residence in Church street. On this occasion the delegates were afforded a delightful opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with many of the leading citizens of Nashville, as well as of enjoying the most cultivated of the city's professional and amateur musical talent.

The two papers read, in the absence of their authors, by Dr. KENT of the University of Tennessee at Tuesday evening's session, both related to Anglo-Saxon subjects. The first was by Prof. J. M. GARNETT of the University of Virginia, on the "Translation of Anglo-Saxon Poetry." It began with a brief notice

of existing translations, and a discussion of the structure of Anglo-Saxon verse. Prof. GARNETT accepts the *Zweihebungs-theorie*, and constructs his translations on that basis. He advocated that form of verse which should reproduce most nearly in English to a modern ear the rhythmical movement of the original. This object is best attained by preserving the Anglo-Saxon form of verse—giving as far as possible a line-for-line translation, marked by alliteration and the four stresses of the normal verse. He expressed approval of the use of archaic words, as in William Morris's "Sigurd the Volsung," and closed with an illustration of his theory of translation by a partial rendering of the "Dream of the Rood" into modern English verse. Profs. KENT, RENNERT, BASKERVILL and WEBB took part in the discussion of Prof. GARNETT's paper. The speakers agreed that rhythmical translations of Anglo-Saxon verse had hitherto failed to render the spirit of their originals. They likewise concurred in denying the need of such rhythmical translations, Dr. KENT citing the experience of publishers to the effect that these translations meet with no better sale than the originals themselves, and that those which are accompanied by texts find the best sale of all, showing that the translations are used only to throw light directly on the originals, and neither meet nor create any considerable demand among the general public. Dr. BASKERVILL deprecated the publication of translations side by side with the text, as tending to relax the application of the student.

The second paper of the evening session was on "The Name Cædmon," by Prof. ALBERT S. COOK of Yale University. Owing to the minuteness of Prof. COOK's discussion, his paper could only be presented in a somewhat fragmentary form. After noting the contradictory opinions prevailing with respect to the etymology of the name 'Cædmon,' Prof. COOK enters the lists for PALGRAVE's theory of an Oriental origin, as against that of a Celtic origin advanced by Mr. HENRY BRADLEY; and in order to prove that a portion of Prof. WÜLKER's argument, 'Grundriss' iii, §5, is directed against an imaginary statement not to be found in PALGRAVE's letter, he reproduces in full from *Archæologia* xxiv,

342 ff., the letter of PALGRAVE in which this theory was first propounded. Prof. COOK endeavors to show, moreover, that the assumption of such a knowledge of Hebrew and Chaldee in England at the end of the seventh century as is presupposed by this theory, involves nothing improbable. In support of his position he adduces, also, phonological arguments, drawn from a comparison of the vowels in the Anglo-Saxon and Latin variants of the name. In discussing this paper, Prof. KIRKLAND of Vanderbilt University made an acute argument from the phonological standpoint in defence of Mr. BRADLEY's Celtic etymology, and was further disposed to reject the theory supported by Prof. COOK, on account of the various assumptions resting on only a slender basis of probability which it involved.

The last session of the Convention, on Wednesday morning, opened with the reading by Prof. VAN DAELL, Secretary of the Pedagogical Section, of a report of his committee relating to the adoption of a set of questions for entrance examinations in French and German, already partially accepted in New England and New York. On motion of Prof. VAN DAELL, the following gentlemen were appointed a committee of five to consider the question of uniform grammatical nomenclature for French and German: Profs. VAN DAELL, COHN, LEARNED, SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG and HOHLFELD. On further motion of Prof. VAN DAELL, the Secretary of the Association was instructed to confer with leading members as to the practicability of holding the meeting in 1892 at some European university.

The first paper read at this session was that of Dr. BASKERVILL on "Southern Literature." The speaker began by affirming that civilization in the United States had been diffused from two centres: New England and Virginia. In the former, the town-meeting was the starting point, in the latter, the planter's mansion; so that, as has been well said, the germ of the whole difference between them lay in their different notions concerning the value of vicinity among the units of society. From the villages and cities of New England came schools, manufactures and literature; from the planters' mansions of the Old Dominion came

generals, statesmen, and a large conception of individual liberty. The isolation of agricultural communities, such as were those of the South, has always stifled the development of literature. Other factors to be taken into account are the continued authority exercised by English models; the aristocratic influences unfavorable to literary production; the great dearth of schools in a thinly populated country, without which no people is a reading people; and the comparative lack of that next great educating power—the press. Thus, of seven colleges founded before 1765, only William and Mary was in the South. Similarly, at the same period, of forty-three newspapers only ten were established south of Pennsylvania. The speaker also discussed at length the influence of slavery in the suppression of literary production. The brief literary movement in Georgia was satisfactorily accounted for by circumstances in the lives of the individual authors: LONGSTREET, for example, and THOMPSON were both subjected during considerable periods of their youth to the more literary influences of the North. Dr. BASKERVILL next discussed briefly the group of Southern writers that sprang up with the war—LANIER, who first brought the South into literary fellowship with the world, RYAN, TIMROD, HAYNE and the rest, with their genuine martial inspiration; and the later group, CABLE, HARRIS, MURFREE, PAGE, JOHNSTON, etc. These latter have achieved a real success in the field of fiction, having enriched our literature with at least four original figures, the Creole of Louisiana, the Cracker of Georgia, the Mountaineer of Tennessee, and the Negro. In conclusion, Dr. BASKEREILL characterized the great promise of this younger group of writers as having been only partially fulfilled, and prophesied the inevitable retreat of literature in the South before the invading industrial spirit of the present era. The conditions for the rise of a "Wizard of the South," a great Romancer, do not yet exist.

It may not be without interest to remark here that on the very day which followed the reading of Prof. BASKERVILL's paper there was issued from the library of the Southern Society of New York a classified catalogue of the first thousand volumes of the collection, now mak-

ing, of books and writings illustrative of Southern life—a collection which the Society, and the whole country, we may say, owes to the princely liberality of Mr. HUGH R. GARDEN. With such a mass of material available to the scholar, supplementing the documentary records of the individual States, we may hope to have, in measurable time, a vivid delineation of the Old Southern Régime traced from its beginnings (for this is the important point), and of those conditions which have incidentally proved so fatal to literary productivity.

The discussion on Southern Literature was led by Prof. JOYNES, who was followed by Profs. WOODWARD and FORTIER. Prof. JOYNES, whilst acknowledging the literary barrenness of the South, lamented the possibility that the peculiar types of the old Southern life should pass away unpreserved in literature. "These types," said the speaker, "were, alas! rapidly disappearing before the spread of railroads and the still more destructive spread of common schools." Prof. JOYNES also dwelt on the obligation resting upon Southern writers of the future to give a thoroughly faithful representation of the institution which shaped the life of the Old South.—Prof. FORTIER objected to Dr. BASKERVILL's statement that no eminent historian had been produced by the South, instancing CHARLES GAYARRÉ to the contrary. Prof. FORTIER incidentally explained that the term 'Creole' was used in Louisiana to designate all descendants of Spanish and French colonists. It had no reference to negro descent.

The paper which followed was by Prof. FORTIER, on "The Acadians of Louisiana and their Dialect." In the reading the more technical parts were omitted. The study consisted of three parts: 1. A historical sketch of the colony of Acadia from its settlement to the dispersion of its inhabitants. 2. An account of the settlement of the Acadians in Louisiana in 1765, containing an interesting narrative of a journey made by the author through the picturesque Têche country, with many observations on the life, habits and character of the people. The dialect of the Acadians presents an interesting study in speech-mixture, as it has taken up numerous words from English, Spanish and Negro French. 3. Specimens

of the dialect, with explanation of its peculiar syntax and pronunciation.—Prof. ELLIOTT congratulated members on the paper just presented, as directly in the line of the objects contemplated by the Association. Every contribution dealing with the local coloring in which our country is so rich, and which lies before us so abundantly still waiting to be utilized, should be especially welcomed. Prof. ELLIOTT spoke of his own investigations into the history of the Acadian settlements, tending rather to the conclusion that the expulsion was a political necessity. Attention was called to the frequent occurrence of such transportations of population—for example, that of the population of Vicenza, Italy, brought hither in Roman times. The results with regard to speech-mixture are evident. The speaker recounted his personal experiences during a visit made to the scene of the Acadian settlements in Canada, with many observations on singular customs of the Canadian French. He invited Prof. FORTIER to extend his investigations to the Islingues, a colony of Spaniards brought to Louisiana in 1778,—a work which the latter stated that he had already made preparations to undertake.

The third paper of this session was by Mr. E. H. BABBITT, entitled: "How to Use Modern Languages as a Means of Mental Discipline." Mr. BABBITT laid stress on the growing importance of the study of modern languages as a means of mental discipline, seeing that they are rapidly coming to take the place in American schools hitherto occupied by the classical languages. Discipline of the mind depends more on the amount and quality of work than on the kind. The acquirement of arts not necessary to a liberal education but necessary for practical life, must also be considered in a plan of studies. Mental discipline being the object, fluency in speaking becomes of little value. Skill in reading, on the other hand, is of much greater value. Power in the use of one's mother tongue is the most important thing gained by the study of other languages, and this ability is a test of general intellectual power. The difficulties, and hence the facilities for discipline, in the study of the modern languages, are less than in the case of the classics. Translation is the central point

of all language study. As compared with the ancient, the modern languages furnish the setting to thought-processes nearer to our own, and need less commentary to render them intelligible. This leaves room for (1) more accurate translation from the outset; (2) a better drill of the reasoning faculties in sight translation; (3) a very important discipline in *pace* of work.—In the very animated discussion that Mr. BABBITT's paper provoked, Prof. HOHLFELD drew a distinction between three grades of work in modern languages: (1) scientific work for investigators; (2) special work for those who propose to be language-teachers; (3) the work of the college curriculum. Only as applying to the last-named did he agree with Mr. BABBITT's remarks. Profs. VAN DAELL, GERBER and JOYNES participated in the discussion. Mr. BABBITT replied to the criticism of some of these gentlemen by explaining that he had limited his paper to a certain phase of his subject, and had no intention of discountenancing æsthetic and phonetic studies in the modern languages. Prof. JOYNES pointed out with especial emphasis the necessity of distinguishing in our college instruction between two classes of students, that we may shape our courses accordingly: (1) those who are trained in classical as well as modern languages; (2) those who are trained in the latter only.

It is much to be regretted that this discussion, so pertinent to the objects of the Association, could not have been allowed to develop itself to the full. At this point, however, as on several occasions previously, the presiding officer was forced to an untimely application of the *clôture*, owing to the limitations of time which the Convention had set itself. The same limitations had the even more unfortunate effect—to say nothing of the unavoidable discrimination involved—of interrupting when only half finished the reading of the paper presented by Prof. F. R. BUTLER of the Woman's College of Baltimore. This paper was entitled: "A Methodology of Literary Study for Collegiate Classes," and treated of a subject on which its author has bestowed much reflection—one, moreover, of especial interest to members of the Association at this time, when the need of literary instruction in col-

leges is so keenly felt and yet the most adequate methods remain still to be determined. It is with the greater regret, therefore, that the present writer is unable to offer a synopsis of Prof. BUTLER's opinions.

Before the final adjournment, Dr. BASKERVILL, of the Committee on Nominations, reported the following changes in the personnel of the Executive Council: Dr. MARY CAREY THOMAS, Dean of Bryn Mawr College, was named to succeed Miss ROSALIE SÉE; Prof. WOODWARD to succeed his colleague Prof. JOYNES, who becomes President of the Pedagogical Section; Prof. MATZKE, of the University of Indiana, to succeed Prof. J. M. HART of Cornell. Drs. BASKERVILL and DEERING of Vanderbilt University were made the Editorial Committee.

Prof. JOYNES, of the Committee on Memorials, read resolutions on the death of Dr. C. K. NELSON of Maryland, and of Prof. J. G. R. McELROY of the University of Pennsylvania.

The committee on the selection of a place for the next meeting reported in favor of Washington. Although the suggestion appeared to meet with the approval of the Convention, no action was taken upon it, and after some debate it was resolved to leave the question of time and place of the next meeting to the decision of the Executive Council.

The Secretary of the Phonetic Section, Mr. C. H. GRANDGENT, Director of the French and German Instruction in the Boston High Schools, read his report upon the work of the Section for the past year. After the adoption of resolutions presented by Prof. SHARP, of Tulane University, returning thanks to the authorities and faculty of Vanderbilt University and to the citizens of Nashville for their cordial hospitality, Vice-President FORTIER closed the sessions of the Convention with a brief speech of personal and official thanks.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, December 31, after the close of the regular sessions of the Convention, a large number of the members availed themselves of an excursion train especially provided for their accommodation, to accept General JACKSON's invitation to visit "Belle Meade," his finely appointed and widely famed stock-farm, situated a few miles from the city. After the inspection of

the rare collection of thoroughbred stock, and of the deer-forest—in which several herds of deer were stampeded for the delectation of the visitors—the party was entertained by the General and his household at the old mansion—one of the few examples of those planters' homes, so often alluded to in Dr. BASKERVILL's paper, which survive to remind us that with the civilization of which they formed the centres—whatever may have been its deficiencies—there passed out of the world a peculiar and irrecoverable social charm.

J. DOUGLAS BRUCE.

Gentle College.

OLD ENGLISH LITERATURE AND JEWISH LEARNING.

VARIOUS historians or editors of Old English Literature have recognized the traces of Oriental, and especially of late Jewish, influence, in the poetical or semi-poetical productions of this period. We may instance KEMBLE ('Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus'), BOUTERWEK ('Cædmons des Angelsachsen Biblische Dichtungen,' pp. cxii-cxiv, cxliv-cxlix), TEN BRINK ('Early English Literature,' p. 88), LINOW ('Erlanger Beiträge für englische Philologie,' I, 1-3). Talmudic or Rabbinical lore has been assumed as the source of traits which admit of no sufficient explanation when referred to any other original. Upon the fact itself there is no need of dwelling, especially as I have had occasion to quote some illustrative passages in my paper on "The Name CÆDMON," presented at the annual session of the Modern Language Association for 1890. The fact being granted, a natural query is, By what channels did this Rabbinical learning reach the Occidental Christians, so as to become accessible to the English? Were there learned Jews on British soil, or did the Talmudic traditions drift over from the neighboring Gallic territory, so often resorted to by the Anglo-Saxon clergy and monastic devotees, whether in the course of pilgrimages to more distant regions, as friendly visitors, or in quest of instruction or spiritual edification? The latter alternative leads to another query, Were there Jews in what we now call France,

and were they sufficiently acquainted with the legends of their race? Were they isolated, silenced, brutalized, crushed, or did they still maintain such relations with the distant East that their faith remained ardent, and consequently that they themselves continue capable of treasuring and transmitting the knowledge of their Law, and the body of commentary which had grown up around it? These are questions which press for an answer, and perhaps a partial answer may be better than none. If we may not expect the blaze of noonday to be thrown on this remote and obscure past, we should have no disposition to reject the glimmerings of twilight, though it do little more than render darkness visible.

The information which I have been able to gain is derived chiefly from GRÆTZ, 'Geschichte der Juden,' and my references, will be to the fifth volume of this work. It will be convenient to distinguish the seventh century from the ninth, the period of CÆDMON from that of ALFRED. Some of the facts to be adduced may be discovered to have a bearing upon the beginnings of Old English literature in the former of these periods, and some upon its development in the latter. To save space, I shall adopt a topical arrangement in the citation of proofs and illustrations, thus avoiding the necessity of extensive comment.

1. There were Jews in France by or before the beginning of the sixth century:

"Die gallischen Juden, mögen sie nun als Geschäftsleute oder Flüchtlinge, mit dem Säckel oder im Sklavengewande in Gallien angekommen sein, genossen volles römisches Bürgerrecht und wurden von den erobernden Franken und Burgundern ebenfalls als Römer behandelt. . . . Unbeschränkt trieben die Juden des fränkischen und burgundischen Reiches Ackerbau, Gewerbe und Handel; sie befuhren mit eigenen Schiffen die Flüsse und das Meer. Auch die Arzneikunst übten sie aus, und die jüdischen Aerzte wurden sogar von den Geistlichen zu Rathe gezogen, welche sich nicht ganz auf die wunderthätige Heilung der in Krankheitsfällen gesuchten Heiligen und Reliquien verlassen mochten. Die Juden verstanden auch die Waffen zu führen und nahmen lebhaften Antheil an den Kriegen zwischen Chlodwig und dem Feldherrn Theoderich's bei der Belagerung von Arles (508). Die gallischen Juden führten neben den biblischen auch die landesüblichen Namen Armentarius, Gozolas, Priscus, Side-

rius. Sie lebten mit der Bevölkerung des Landes im besten Einvernehmen und es kamen sogar Ehen zwischen Christen und Juden vor. Selbst christliche Geistliche liessen sich's an jüdischer Tafel wohlschmecken und luden auch ihrerseits Juden zu Gast." (GRÆTZ 5. 56-7.)

Testimony of GREGORY OF TOURS (GRÆTZ 5. 64): "Nach Chilperichs gewaltsamem Tod (584) kamen die fränkischen Juden vom Regen in die Traufe; denn Protektor des Reiches wurde jener König Guntram, der burgundischen Fanatismus mitbrachte. Als dieser auf seinem Zuge nach Paris in Orleans anhielt, stimmten auch die Juden dieser Stadt in den Jubelrausch der Empfangs-Feierlichkeiten mit ein; sie dachten ihn durch Schmeicheleien zu gewinnen, dass er ihre von der Menge zerstörte Synagoge auf Staatskosten wieder aufbauen lassen werde. Aber ihre Zuvorkommenheit brachte den entgegengesetzten Eindruck auf ihn hervor."

2. Renaissance of Hebrew literature, and especially of poetry, in the seventh century, through contact with the Arabians:

"Die Begeisterung, welche die Araber für ihre Sprache und Poesie empfanden, die Sorgfalt, die sie darauf verwendeten, sie rein, ebenmässig und klangvoll zu gebrauchen, wirkte auch auf die Juden und lehrte sie, sich einer korrekten Sprache zu bedienen. Inden sechs Jahrhunderten seit dem Untergang der jüdischen Nation hatten die Juden den Sinn für Schönheit und Anmuth im Ausdrucke verlernt, sie waren nachlässig in ihrer Sprache, unbekümmert um reine Formen und gleichgültig, die Gedanken und Empfindungen in eine ansprechende Hülle zu kleiden. Ein Volk mit einer lallenden Sprache, das ein Gemisch von Hebräisch, Chaldäisch und verdorbenem Griechisch redete, war nicht im Stande eine Literatur zu erzeugen, und noch weniger die verwöhnte Muse der Poesie zu fesseln. Eine Ausnahme hatten, wie bereits erzählt, die Juden in Arabien gemacht. Sie hatten von ihren Nachbarn Geschmack und die Kunst gelernt, die Rede gefällig und eindringlich zu gestalten." (GRÆTZ 5. 173.)

"Die Begeisterung der Araber für ihre Sprache und den Koran weckte auch im Herzen der Juden dasselbe Gefühl für die hebräische Sprache und ihre heiligen Urkunden. Ohnehin waren die Juden jetzt darauf angewiesen, sich mehr mit der heiligen Schrift vertraut zu machen, um in Streitfragen zwischen ihnen und den Mohammedanern nicht beschämt zu sein. . . . Waren die Begabten unter ihnen bis dahin nur auf den Talmud und die agadische Auslegung angewiesen, so führte sie das Bedürfniss zur Urquelle der Bibel zurück." (GRÆTZ 5. 174-5.)

„Die nächste Folge der Berührung mit den begeisterten Arabern und der Vertiefung in die heiligen Urkunden war die Geburt einer neuhebräischen Poesie. Dichterische Gemüther mussten sich angeregt fühlen, den hebräischen Sprachschatz eben so wie die Araber den ihrigen, in gebundene Rede, in gemessene Verse zu bringen. Aber während die arabischen Dichter das Schwert, das Ritterthum, die zügellose Liebe besangen, über den Verlust vergänglicher Güter klagten, und Gegner, die sie mit dem Schwerte nicht erreichen konnten, mit den Waffen der Satyre verwundeten, kannte die neuerwachte hebräische Poesie nur einen einzigen Gegenstand der Begeisterung und Anbetung, Gott und seine Waltung. . . . Seit dem Untergang der staatlichen Selbstständigkeit war die Lehre die Seele des Judenthums geworden; religiöses Thun ohne Kenntniss des Lehrstoffes galt als werthlos. Der Mittelpunkt des sabbatlichen und feiertägigen Gottesdienstes war das Vorlesen aus Gesetz und Propheten, die Verdolmetschung des Vorgelesenen durch die Targumisten und die Erläuterung des Textes durch die Agadisten (Homiletiker). Die neuhebräische Poesie durfte in keinem Falle der Belehrung ganz baar sein, wenn sie sich Eingang in die Gemüther verschaffen wollte.“ (GRÆTZ 5. 176-7.)

„Die Reihe der neuhebräischen Dichter, welche die synagogale Poesie anbauen, eröffnet, so viel bis jetzt bekannt ist, José b. José (Hajathom oder Haithom), dessen Schöpfung (*sic*) nicht ohne echt poetischen Schwung, wenn auch ohne künstlerische Formen sind. . . . Ein zweites grösseres Gedicht José b. José's . . . ist eine Art liturgisches Epos, welches die Schöpfung des All und des Menschen, die Gottvergessenheit der ersten Menschengeschlechter, Abrahams Gotteserkenntniss, die Erwählung seiner Nachkommen als Gottesvolk, die Berufung des ahronidischen Hauses zum Tempeldienste ruhig und ohne lyrischen Schwung besingt. . . . Erhabenheit der Gedanken und Gehobenheit der Sprache bilden die Eigenheit in José b. José's Poesie. Als Probe möge der Eingang seiner Ahodah dienen:

„Ihn (Gott) singt der Mund aller Geschöpfe,
Von oben erschallet und von unten sein Ruhm,
Herr! ruft die Erde, Heiliger! der Himmel,
Aus den Wassern tönen Lieder dem Mächtigen in Höhen,
Gloria aus den Tiefen, Loblied von den Sternen,
Rede vom Tage, Gesang vom Dunkel,
Das Feuer verkündet seinen Namen,
Der Wald jauchzt ihm Melodien zu,
Das Thier lehrt Gottes übergewaltige Grösse.“

. . . Seine Verse sind noch ohne Reimklang und ohne Sylbenmaass, ein Beweis für hohes Alter. Das einzige Künstliche an seinen poetischen Erzeugnissen ist der alphabetische Versanfang (alphabetisches Akrostichon), wobei ihm manche Psalmen, die Klagelieder Jeremias und die nachtalmudischen Gebetstücke zum Muster gedient haben. In den

Erstlingen der neuhebräischen Poesie wird die Form vom Gegenstande beherrscht. (GRÆTZ 5. 177-9.)

„Lange konnte sich die jüdisch-liturgische Poesie. . . nicht in dieser Formeinfachheit bewegen. Die Juden wurden allmähig mit der arabischen Poesie vertraut, der in derselben herrschende Wohlklang des Reimes sagte ihnen zu, und sie wurden verwöhnt, im Reim die Vollendung der Poesie zu sehen. Die poetanische Dichtung durfte daher, wenn sie Eingang finden wollte, dieses Kunstmittels nicht entbehren, und sie verlegte sich darauf. Der erste Dichter, so viel bekannt ist, der den Reim eingeführt hat, war Jannai, wahrscheinlich ein Palästinenser. Er hat für die aussergewöhnliche Sabbate, welche wegen geschichtlicher Erinnerung oder als Vorbereitungszeit für die nahen Feiertage eine höhere Bedeutung haben, versifizierte Gebetstücke gedichtet. Die agadischen Vorträge, welche für solche Sabbate eingeführt waren, scheinen den Gemeinden nicht mehr zugesagt zu haben, weil die agadischen Prediger nicht im Stande waren, Neues und Anziehendes zu schaffen, sondern Jahr aus Jahr ein dieselben Vorträge, wie sie gesammelt waren, mit Anführung der Gewährsmänner gewissermassen ablasen. Die Dichtungen Jannai's und seiner Genossen wollten daher den Kern der agadischen Auslegung retten und ihn durch Verse gefällig und geniessbar machen. Jannai's Erzeugnisse sind daher poetisirte Agadas. Aber da er nicht Dichter genug war, um das Wahre und Treffende in der agadischen Literatur zur Anschauung zu bringen, seine Reime auch nicht beflügelt und wohltonend sind, und er sich, noch dazu die Bürde alphabetischer Versanfänge nebst Verflechtung seines Namens auflegte, so sind seine Dichtungen dunkel, ungelentk und schwerfällig ausgefallen. . . .

Ueberhaupt hat die neuhebräische Poesie durch die Einführung des Reimes in der ersten Zeit nichts gewonnen. Eleasar b. Kalir oder Kaliri (aus Kariat-Sephir), einer der ältesten und fruchtbarsten poetanischen Dichter, ein Jünger Jannai's, dichtete eben so schwerfällig und hart, aber noch viel dunkler als sein Meister. . . . Kaliri hat einen grossen Theil der agadischen Literatur versificirt mit vieler Künstelei, aber nur wenige Stücke haben poetischen Werth, und Schönheit kein einziges. Um die Schwierigkeiten, welche die Hindeutung auf die Agada, der Reim, alphabetische Anfänge und Namensverschlingung machten, zu bewältigen, musste Kaliri der hebräischen Sprache Gewalt anthun, dem tyrannischen Wortgebrauch Hohn sprechen, unerhörte Wortbildungen schaffen. Er stellt öfter statt eines durch Wortfarben ausgedrückten Gemäldes dunkle Räthsel hin, die ohne tiefe Belesenheit in der Midrasch-Literatur nicht gelöst werden können. Dennoch drangen Kaliri's poeta-

nische Dichtungen in die Liturgie der babylonischen, italienischen, deutschen und französischen Gemeinden ein. . . . Kaliri wurde als der Hauptschöpfer der poetischen Literatur gefeiert, und die Sage verherrlichte seinen Namen. Man erzählte von ihm, er habe seine poetische Begabung durch magische Mittel erlangt." (GRÆTZ 5. 180-1.)

3. Sway of the Talmud over the European Jews, wherever found:

"Durch die Ausdehnung des Islam von Indien bis Spanien und vom Kaukasus bis tief nach Afrika hinein erweiterte sich auch die Herrschaft des Talmud über seine ursprüngliche Grenze hinaus, indem, wie schon erwähnt, die entferntesten Gemeinden mit dem Gaonat in Verkehr standen, sich bei ihm Rath über religiöse, sittliche und civilrechtliche Fragen holten und die Entscheidungen, welche auf Grund des Talmud gegeben wurden, gläubig annahmen. . . . Die afrikanischen und europäischen Gemeinden waren zu ungebildet in Bibel und Talmud, als dass sie ein Urtheil darüber haben sollten. Sie nahmen die Bescheide der Gaonen als unverbrüchliche Norm hin." (GRÆTZ 5. 183.)

4. Acquaintance with the Talmud on the part of Spanish Jews of the seventh century:

"Mit Judäa oder Babylonien müssen die westgothischen Juden in Verbindung gestanden haben, entweder über Italien oder über Afrika, von wo aus sie wohl ihre Religionslehrer erhielten. Denn sie waren den talmudischen Vorschriften vollständig zugethan, enthielten sich des Weines von Nichtjuden, und nahmen ihre heidnischen und christlichen Sklaven in den jüdischen Bund auf, wie der Talmud es anordnet." (GRÆTZ 5. 72.)

"Die Ansicht der Juden über das siebente Jahrtausend der Messiaszeit entwickelt Julian von Toledo in seiner apologetischen Schrift. . . . Die Juden hatten aber dieses Dogma aus talmudisch-agadischen Quellen. . . . Es geht also daraus hervor, dass die spanischen Juden direct oder indirect im siebenten Jahrhundert mit dem Talmud bekannt waren." (GRÆTZ 5. 161 note.)

5. Exile of Spanish Jews early in the seventh century, and emigration to France:

"Sisebut decretirte dafür eine noch strengere Massregel. Sämmtliche Juden des Landes sollten binnen einer gewissen Frist entweder die Taufe nehmen oder das westgothische Gebiet verlassen. Vermuthlich haben es die Juden nicht an Anstrengung fehlen lassen, den harten Schlag abzuwenden, aber vergebens. Der Befehl wurde vollstreckt. . . . Die Starken dagegen, deren Gewissen-

haftigkeit keinen innern Vorbehalt gutheissen konnte, wanderten aus nach Frankreich und nach dem nahegelegenen Afrika (612-613)." (GRÆTZ 5. 76.)

6. Persecution of the exiled Jews in France, and possible emigration—whither?

"Dagobert wird in der jüdischen Geschichte den judenfeindlichsten Königen gezählt. Viele Tausende vor dem Fanatismus des westgothischen Königs Sisebut nach dem Frankenreiche entflohenen Juden erregten die Eifersucht dieses schwelgerischen Königs. Er schämte sich, dem Westgothen zurückzustehen und geringen Religionseifer zu bekunden. Er erliess daher einen Befehl, dass sämmtliche Juden Frankreichs bis zu einem bestimmten Tage sich entweder zum Christenthume bekennen oder als Feinde behandelt werden und mit dem Tode büssen sollten (um 629). . . . Viele Juden sollen bei dieser Gelegenheit zum Christenthum übergegangen sein." (GRÆTZ 5. 65-6.)

7. Sentiments of justice and humanity entertained by GREGORY THE GREAT toward the Jews:

"Gregor I., der grosse und heilige genannt, der den Grundstein zur Herrschaft des Katholicismus gelegt, sprach den Grundsatz aus: dass die Juden nur durch Ueberredung und Sanftmuth, nicht durch Gewalt zur Bekehrung gebracht werden sollen (590-604). Gewissenhaft wahrte er das den Juden als Römern von den römischen Kaisern anerkannte Bürgerrecht, dass es ihnen nicht verkümmert werden sollte. In dem Gebiete, das dem Petristuhl unterworfen war, in Rom, Unteritalien, Sicilien und Sardinien, hielt er mit Strenge darauf gegenüber den fanatischen Bischöfen, welche die Bedrückung der Juden für ein frommes Werk hielten. Seine Hirtenbriefe sind voll von solchen ersten Ermahnungen: 'Wir verbieten, die Juden zu belästigen gegen die eingeführte Ordnung, wir gestatten ihnen, ferner als Römer zu leben und über ihr Eigenthum ohne Benachtheiligung zu schalten; nur sei ihnen nicht gestattet, christliche Sklaven zu halten.' Als einige Glaubenseiferer in Neapel die jüdischen Feiertage stören wollten, schrieb er an den Bischof Paschasius, solches streng zu verbieten, da den Juden seit undenklichen Zeiten Religionsfreiheit zugestanden ist." (GRÆTZ 5. 51-2.)

8. Influence of GREGORY THE GREAT upon the English Christians:

"Der Cultus, die Theologie und die Lehre der angelsächsischen Kirche war ein genaues Abbild Dessen geworden, was Gregor in seinen Schriften niedergelegt und als frommes Vermächtniss der römischen Kirche hinterlass-

en hatten. Dies ist sehr wol zu beachten, wenn man über die Entwicklung der angelsächsischen Kirche ein sicheres Urtheil gewinnen will." (BOUTERWEK, 'Cædmons des Angelsachsen Biblische Dichtungen,' p. cxxxii.)

"In this entire range of poetical composition, the English found their sources as well as their models among Christian Latin poets and writers of theological prose. But it was more particularly the homiletic literature which acted upon a class of poetry that, by a blending of narrative, reflection, and admonition, itself bore a decidedly homiletic character. Foremost was the influence of the great Latin fathers, and above all, of Gregory, to whom Christian England was indebted more than to any other, and whom it venerated as an apostle." (TEN BRINK, 'Early English Literature,' p. 49.)

9. Jewish, but non-Biblical, sources of some of GREGORY's teachings which were adopted by the English church:

"Wie die Zahl der Verworfenen und Erwählten eine bestimmte ist nach Gregors Lehre, so ist denn auch die Zahl Derer festgesetzt, die an die Stelle der gefallenen Engel treten sollen. . . . Der Grund dieses Systems mochte durch den Kabbalismus in die christliche Kirche eingedrungen sein . . . die eigentliche Errichtung und Ausbildung desselben gehört Gregor dem Grossen an. . . . Fragen wir nun nach dem Ursprunge dieser Lehre vom Sturze des Engelfürsten und dem durch die Menschen bewirkten Complement der durch Verstossung der abgefallenen seligen Geister entstandenen Lücke in Gottes vollkommener Schöpfung; so werden wir zunächst in den apocryphischen Schriften der Juden nachzuforschen haben, ob in diesen eine sichere Spur hiervon sich auffinden lässt. . . . Wie viele von diesen und ähnlichen jüdischen Legenden Gregor bekannt gewesen und durch welche Vermittelung ihm dieselben zugekommen sind—wer vermöchte darüber etwas Zuverlässiges anzuführen? (BOUTERWEK, pp. cxliii-cxlix.)

10. Second exile of Spanish Jews before the middle of the seventh century:

"Da bestieg den westgothischen Thron ein König, der Sisebut ähnlich war. . . . Die Juden mussten zum zweiten Mal zum Wanderstabe greifen. . . . Der Zustand dauerte auch nur während Chintila's Regierung vier Jahr (638-642)." (GRÆTZ 5.79.)

11. Happy condition of the Jews in France under LOUIS THE PIOUS:

"Die günstige Lage der Juden im fränkischen Reiche, welche von Karl den Grossen begründet und von seinem Sohne Ludwig

(814-40) erhöht wurde, spornte sie zu einer Art Geistesthätigkeit an, und sie legten so viel Eifer für das Judenthum an den Tag, dass sie auch Christen dafür zu begeistern vermochten.

Karls des Grossen Nachfolger, der gutmüthige, aber willenlose Kaiser Ludwig, überhäufte fast die Juden trotz seiner Kirchlichkeit, die ihm den Namen 'de Fromme' eintrug, mit ausserordentlichen Gunstbezeugungen. Er nahm sie unter seinen besonderen Schutz und litt nicht, dass ihnen von Seiten der Barone oder der Geistlichkeit Unbill zugefügt würde. . . .

Man könnte versucht sein, diese auffallende Begünstigung der Juden von Seiten eines kirchlich-frommen Kaisers sei aus Handelsrücksichten geschehen. . . . Allein die Gunst hatte einen tieferen Grund. Sie galt nicht blos den jüdischen Kaufleuten und Handel-treibenden, sondern den Juden als solchen, den Trägern einer geläuterten Gotteserkenntniss. Die Kaiserin Judith, Ludwigs zweite Gemahlin und allmächtige Beherrscherin seines Herzens, hatte eine besondere Vorliebe für das Judenthum. Diese durch Schönheit und Geist begabte Kaiserin, welche ihre Freunde nicht genug bewundern, ihre Feinde nicht genug schmähen konnten, hatte eine tiefe Verehrung für die Helden der israelitischen Vorzeit. Als der gelehrte Abt von Fulda Rhabanus Maurus ihre Gunst gewinnen wollte, kannte er kein wirksameres Mittel, als ihr seine Ausarbeitung der Bücher Esther und Judith zu widmen und sie mit diesen beiden jüdischen Heldinnen zu vergleichen. Die Kaiserin und ihre Freunde . . . waren wegen Abstammung der Juden von den grossen Patriarchen und Propheten Gönner derselben. Um derentwillen seien sie zu ehren, sprach diese judenfreundliche Partei bei Hofe, und der Kaiser sah sie ebenfalls in demselben Lichte. Gebildete Christen erfrischten ihren Geist an den Schriften des jüdischen Philosophen Philo und des jüdischen Geschichtsschreibers Josephus und lasen sie lieber als die Evangelien. Gebildete Edeldamen und Edelleute bei Hofe sprachen es daher offen aus, sie wollten lieber einen Gesetzesgeber haben wie die Juden, d. h. dass ihnen Mose und das Judenthum erhabener erschienen als Jesus und das Christenthum. Sie liessen sich daher von Juden den Segen ertheilen und sie für sich beten. Die Juden hatten daher freien Zutritt bei Hofe und verkehrten unmittelbar mit dem Kaiser und den ihm nahen Personen. Verwandte des Kaisers beschenkten jüdische Frauen mit kostbaren Gewändern, um ihre Verehrung und Anhänglichkeit zu bekunden.

Bei solcher ausserordentlichen Gunst von Seiten des Hofes war es ganz natürlich, dass die Juden des fränkischen Reiches—welches auch Deutschland und Italien umfasste—eine ausgedehnte Religionsfreiheit genossen, wie kaum in unseren Tagen. Die gehässigen

kanonischen Gesetze gegen sie waren stillschweigend ausser Kraft gesetzt. Die Juden durften ungestört neue Synagogen bauen und frei über die Bedeutung des Judenthums in Gegenwart christlicher Zuhörer sprechen, dass sie 'die Nachkommen der Patriarchen,' 'das Geschlecht der Gerechten,' 'die Kinder der Propheten' sind. Ohne Scheu durften sie ihre aufrichtige Meinung über das Christenthum, über die Wunderthätigkeit der Heiligen und Reliquien und über die Bilderverehrung äussern. Christen besuchten die Synagogen, erbauten sich an dem jüdischen Gottesdienst und, merkwürdig genug, fanden mehr Geschmack an den Vorträgen der jüdischen Kanzelredner (Darschanim), als an den Predigten der Geistlichen, obwohl jene schwerlich den tiefen Inhalt des Judenthums auseinanderzusetzen im Stande waren. Jedenfalls müssen wohl damals die jüdischen Kanzelredner in der Landessprache vorgetragen haben. Hochgestellte Geistliche trugen keine Scheu, von den Juden die Auslegung der heiligen Schrift zu lernen. Wenigstens gesteht es der Abt Rhabanus Maurus von Fulda ein, dass er von Juden Manches gelernt und in seine Commentarien zur heiligen Schrift, die er dem nachmaligen Kaiser Ludwig dem Deutschen gewidmet, verwebt habe. In Folge der Begünstigung der Juden vom Hofe wurden einige Christen aus dem Volke für das Judenthum eingenommen, sahen es als die wahre Religion an, fanden es überzeugender als die Christuslehre, beobachteten den Sabbat und arbeiteten am Sonntag. Mit einem Worte die Regierungszeit des Kaisers Ludwig des Frommen war für die Juden seines Reiches ein goldenes Zeitalter, wie sie es in Europa weder vorher noch später erlebt haben." (GRÆTZ 5. 245-250.)

Only the last, or eleventh, of these divisions, refers specially to the position of the Jews with respect to a possible influence upon the English literature of the ninth century, but it is evident that much of what is adduced under preceding heads is valid for this period also.

The conclusions which may legitimately be drawn from the preceding facts seem to me to be as follows:

In view of the constant intercourse between France and England, which is amply demonstrated for the seventh century by BEDE, it was quite possible for learned ecclesiastics, or others, to meet and associate with Jews who possessed some Biblical and Talmudic learning, even if there were no Jews resident in England (1, 3, 4, 5).

It is not unlikely that the Jews may have been tempted to seek a refuge in England during the persecution by DAGOBERT (6).

The traditions of the English church, under the sway of GREGORY's principles of justice, moderation, and humanity toward the Jews, and of a literature and learning peculiarly Jewish in some of its more notable constituents, can hardly have been unfavorable to the reception of such fugitives (7, 8, 9).

It is not impossible that exiled Spanish Jews may have sought an asylum in England as late as toward the middle of the seventh century (10).

The impulse received from the Arabs, and which resulted in the creation of the Neohebraic poetry, must in some measure have communicated itself to the Jews of Western Europe before the close of the seventh century (2, 3, 4).

So far as we have any means of judging, there is a noticeable similarity between the Cædmonic poetry and that composed by the early Neohebraic poets (2. Compare BEDE's statement about CÆDMON, 'Eccl. Hist.' 4. 24:

"Canebat autem de creatione mundi et origine humani generis et tota genesis historia, de egressu Israel ex Ægypto et ingressu in terram repromissionis. . .")

A didactic purpose is common to the earliest Neohebraic poetry and the Cædmonic writing. (See 2, and BEDE, as above: "In quibus cunctis homines ab amore scelerum abstrahere, ad dilectionem vero et solertiam bonæ actionis excitare curabat.")

We should expect an absence of bitter feelings toward the Jews in the earlier Old English poetry, not merely because of the influence already referred to (7, 8, 9), but also because it is difficult to treat sympathetically themes drawn from the book of Genesis, and at the same time cherish hatred toward the Jewish race. Further, CÆDMON was personally of a placable disposition (BEDE, as above: "Placidam ego mentem, filioli, erga omnes Dei famulos gero"). With this deduction is in singular accord a part of the closing passage of the 'Exodus' (515-563). This is a most delicate and considerate treatment of the subject introduced. If one were anxious

to express his own convictions without wounding the susceptibilities of the adherent of another faith, he could hardly proceed differently.

The use of the acrostic and interwoven name in the Neohebraic poetry reminds us of CYNEWULF (2). Something might also be said of the coinage of compounds, and the enigmatic character of the writing, as points of resemblance between the poets of the two literatures.

The views which I have already ventured to express concerning the connection between the Old English poem of 'Judith' and events occurring at the court of the French king (see my second edition of the 'Judith' p. xxv ff.), receive a certain confirmation and illustration from the facts adduced concerning the favor shown to the Jews by LOUIS THE PIUS and the elder JUDITH. A Judaizing tendency may have been responsible for the bestowal of this name upon her, and there appears to be a sign of its continuance as well in the transmission of the name to her granddaughter as in the composition of the Old English poem.

Finally, if the foregoing deductions should meet with substantial acceptance, it may not seem too bold to assert that the beginnings of English literature have a traceable connection with the establishment of Mohammedanism.

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THE WORTH OF THE ENGLISH SENTENCE FOR REFLECTIVE AND ÆSTHETIC DIS- CIPLINE.

In order to get into the trend of the subject proper, let us approach it from a little distance. The thoroughly furnished man, intellectually, is a creator, or better, an artist. Not until he has grown out of and above the trammels of other men's thoughts can he produce a better and fairer thing than the common; for to do what every man may do, is simply to be an artisan. The developed individuality is what we want. The Godlike part in us, which holds the germ of the creative impulse, calls for that discipline that makes us Nature's priests, followed by 'the vision splendid.'

From first to last the complete development of the individual comprises three stages: the *acquisitive*, the *reflective*, the *creative*. Obviously these are logical in succession and have in some sort corresponding periods in the actual life of the individual.

The English speaking student holds the English sentence most securely—by birth; but the reflection thereon should be in a line with the purpose of bringing out the artist. There is no need to dilate upon the dignity of the purpose, to come at the artist in the student,—to fail of so high an aim makes the better artisan in letters.

What a treasure has the student whose mother-tongue is English! It is the language that was, long ago, ample enough in every way to loose the soul of BUNYAN; it hemmed not in the imagination of MILTON, and was yet taxed to speak forth the universal mind of SHAKESPEARE.

There are some potent reasons why the *sentence* should be studied, rather than the *word*. The sentence is a combination of words expressing a complete thought, which makes it the unit of composition. "A sentence is the first complete, organic product of thinking." In English, the words are not units of the sentence as in the inflected languages, performing always and singly distinct functions.

Another reason in favor of the study of the sentence is that its content is more easily apprehended than that of the word. For instance, "All men are mortal," "All metals are elements," are more easily understood than the words *men*, *mortal*, *metals*, *elements*. General notions having both an extensive and intensive signification, require for their adequate explication logical division and definition. Every common noun represents the result of a longer or shorter process of generalization.

Again, because the English is not an inflected language we are put to the necessity of making a logical analysis of the sentence before any grammatical question can be answered. But in Latin, for example, every word performs a distinct function, and that function is marked, as with a tag, in the inflection; so that it is possible to make the grammatical

analysis of sentences and yet not know what thought they contain. The mere grammatical analysis gives no clue to the meaning. But in English the reflection necessary to a full understanding of the sentence comes first, and this makes English grammar but the naming the results of our reflection upon the dependencies and interdependencies of words. Here we have wide open the finest fields for the subtlest exercise of the reflective powers.

It is the *influence* of words upon words that makes the sentence. Words are never alive until they are built into the organic whole, the sentence. Our dictionary is nothing but a great valley of dry bones, waiting for the shaking, waiting for the sinews and flesh, waiting for the breath of life.

To illustrate, suppose we build a sentence. Take the word *nest* to begin with. This word calls up—as every noun does—a representative of its class, but not the same to every mind. One may, at the instant the word is heard, imagine a crow's nest, another a sparrow's nest, and so on. This shows how indefinite, in suggestion, class-words are. Place the word *robin's* before 'nest' and note how it defines the original idea or picture—'robin's nest'; now put the word *the* before this combination, 'the robin's nest.' The word *the* creates a suspense that is not relieved till the sentence ends, it is the promise of all that comes after. But 'the robin's nest' has not been located. The robin's nest *in the tree*, is more definite. Think what added definiteness there is at every step as we finish the sentence: The robin's nest in the *apple* tree; the robin's nest in the apple tree *in the meadow*. What of it? Why, it *was robbed*; it was robbed *yesterday*; it was robbed *yesterday by some children*.

It is hardly necessary to state that a sentence is a picture group; or in other words a group of ideas—things seen with the mind's eye. It is plain, too, that the influence of words is determined from the pictures they suggest.

Here is a sentence already made: "The Alps, piled in cold and still sublimity, are an image of despotism." Take 'Alps.' What do you mean more by 'the Alps' than by simply 'Alps'? Picture in mind 'the Alps piled':

then, 'the Alps piled *in sublimity*'; again, 'the Alps piled in *cold and still* sublimity'; finally, add *are an image*, and finish with *of despotism*.

It is this picturing process that must be executed in order to determine the influence of words upon words, so that along with the reflection that settles the grammar of an English sentence goes a most vivid exercise of the powers of the imagination—the art faculty.

It is not important to begin with the word towards which the influence of every other converges, but any word or phrase, taken at random, has vital connections with the chief word, the nominative subject. A sentence is "a full circle of dependencies." Arising out of such study is the keen appreciation of the organic unity of a sentence.

Is it not evident that tracing the different threads of word-influences is fruitful labor in a fertile and exhaustless field? Words in sentences do lean upon one another, hold fast to one another, and sometimes play 'hide-and-seek' with one another.

The English, being uninflected, further demands a study of position for the sake of clearness and emphasis. There are many familiar examples of the ludicrous effect of misplaced modifiers. Let us take a sentence in its normal order and afterwards shift its parts to show the value of position. This from MILTON will serve our purpose: "The dreadless angel, unpursued, holds his way, all night, through heaven's wide champaign." What is the difference in effect when we say, "Unpursued, through heaven's wide campaign, all night, the dreadless angel holds his way"? Make as many changes in position as possible, comparing and noting at every step the effect upon the thought of the sentence. MILTON puts it:

"All night the dreadless angel unpursued,
Through heaven's wide champaign holds his way."

This is an important and profitable exercise, showing as it does a great essential of effective style, namely, the flexibility of the sentence.

There is another view of the sentence to be taken which is not only interesting, but of great worth to him who covets to become a master in casting his sentences. It may be

called, loosely, the rhetorical view, though we care nothing for the terms simile, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, since they are names of results obtained by reflection—not on our part. The student ought never to be saved by formulated rules and expressions; the discipline of the reflective powers in this direction is worth too much to be abridged.

It is easy enough to catch the meaning of a clear sentence. The problem regarding a given sentence is, not what it means, but how the words used can and do convey the meaning. It is a study not of the thought, but of the vehicle of thought. Here is a sentence from Mr. BEECHER: "Prayer is the key of the morning and the bolt of the night." No one hesitates to grasp the thought; indeed, one must grasp it, it is so strikingly clear. Often one who uses glasses becomes so interested in what he sees as to be unconscious of his glasses, the medium through which he does see; the medium is the marvellous part of all.

To show how marvellous it is for words to carry thoughts, let us ask about the above sentence: Is prayer a key? Is prayer a bolt? Not so, really. But the sentence says in so many words, "prayer is the key—and the bolt." It does not mean what it says, that is plain. Has morning a key, or night a bolt? Not at all. It does not mean what it says, but as to what it all does mean there is not the shadow of a doubt. The words in this sentence have not their face value, but an implied meaning. How can that be? About with your brains, to solve that problem!

"The body is the soul's dark cottage." That is easy to understand, but try to explain its meaning and you will be impressed with how much more these words tell impliedly—figuratively—than literally.

"Begin and somewhat loudly sweep the string." Consider the words *sweep* and *string* apart from the sentence, and what do they suggest? How can they be put together to mean *make music*?

"Under the eyelids of the opening morn." What does it mean and how does it mean it? Is not the sentence the literary alchemist's crucible in which he transmutes our commonest names into imperishable gold? Whenever the sentence uses its words in a symbolic

meaning, it becomes the æsthetic unit of literary art. This unit, an organic product, is the starting point in the study of the art of literature.

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*A LIST OF MODERN FRENCH TEXT-BOOKS Compiled for the Use of Teachers in Public Schools.*¹

OF the Seventeenth Century literature, the great classics (CORNEILLE, RACINE and MOLIÈRE) are usually represented in the courses of study of High Schools; at least a tragedy or two by CORNEILLE or RACINE is generally read. The wisdom of this plan is more than doubtful. To appreciate the great literary beauty of the classical French tragedy requires a better knowledge of the language and greater familiarity with the history and civilization of the country and the times than High School pupils can be expected to possess. The time spent in reading one or two tragedies

¹ Nearly all the books in this list are published in this country, or at least kept in stock by booksellers. The list does not contain all of the numerous works reprinted in the United States, but this selection of about one hundred and twenty volumes is deemed sufficient for the wants of teachers not already familiar with French literature. The books named are mostly small volumes; but few run up to two hundred pages, or above; they are all inexpensive, the prices ranging from fifteen cents upwards, comparatively few costing as much as one dollar, and very few more. If the work mentioned is a play, a (p) has been inserted; if the edition is provided with notes or a vocabulary, this is indicated by (n) or (v).

The following abbreviations stand for the publishers or booksellers, viz.:

M.—Macmillan & Co., N. Y.
P.—G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y.
H. H.—Henry Holt & Co., N. Y.
He.—D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.
J.—W. R. Jenkins, N. Y.
S.—Carl Schoenhof, Boston.

It is not customary, and for good reasons, to have young pupils read any French literature older than the seventeenth century. Teachers and students wishing to get a survey of earlier French literature will find the following books useful:

FAGUET, *La Tragédie française du 16^e siècle*. (J.)
G. PARIS, *La Littérature du moyen âge*. (J.)
PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, *Le Théâtre en France. . . depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours*. (S.)
SAINTSBURY, *Primer of French Literature*. (M.)
SAINTSBURY, *Short History of French Literature*. (M.)
F. M. WARREN, *Primer of French Literature*. (He.)

is not entirely wasted, since the pupils thereby increase their knowledge of French; but better results in this direction may be attained by different means, while the *culture* value of such reading, with students so little prepared for it, is insignificant. The time is perhaps not far off when the study of the seventeenth century drama will be left to the college or the university, or at least when it will no longer be attempted in High Schools whose course in French does not extend beyond two years.

Four firms have published, and continue to publish, series of classical plays, most of them carefully edited and *annotated*, but few of them free from errors. Teachers not very familiar with the respective authors should therefore have the various editions at hand. These are:

- CORNEILLE, *Le Cid* (M.; H.H.; J.).
 " *Cinna* (M.; H.H.).
 " *Horace* (M.; H.H.).
 " *Polyeucte* (He.).
 " *Le Menteur* (M.).
 " *La Suite du Menteur* (M.).
 RACINE, *Athalie* (H.H.).
 " *Esther* (H.H.; M.).
 " *Britannicus* (M.).
 " *Andromaque* (M.).
 " *Les Plaideurs* (H.H.).
 MOLIÈRE, *L'Avare* (M.; H.H.; J.).
 " *Le Misanthrope* (H.H.).
 " *Les Femmes savantes* (M.).
 " *Les Précieuses ridicules* (M.).
 " *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* (M.; H.H.; He.; J.).
 " *Le Médecin malgré lui* (He.).
 " *Le Tartuffe* (He.).

Selections from some of the prose writers of the same period have also been made accessible to American teachers. The "account of French society in the seventeenth century from contemporary writers" in

CRANE, *La Société française au 17^e siècle* (P.n.), forms profitable reading, and may serve as an excellent introduction to MOLIÈRE'S *Les Précieuses ridicules* and *Les Femmes savantes*. Some teachers may find

BLOUËT, *l'Eloquence de la chaire et de la tribune françaises* (M., n.), adapted to their High School classes.

PERRAULT, *Contes de fées* (M., n.) and *Popular Tales* (M., n.) are very easy.

Selections from

MME. DE SÉVIGNÉ, *Correspondance* (M. n.), are edited by G. MASSON, as also, for more advanced students, extracts from the memoirs of the time, under the title,

Louis XIV and his Contemporaries. (M., n.).

There are two editions of

LAFONTAINE, *Fables*, by DELBOS (H.H., n.).

" " by MORIARTY (M. n. v.).

A valuable book for students of MOLIÈRE is LARROUMET, *La Comédie de Molière, l'auteur et le milieu* (J.).

The essay on the great French comedian in W. BESANT'S *French Humourists* may also be read with profit.

Only three or four writers of the eighteenth century are here to be mentioned:

VOLTAIRE, *Charles XII* (M.n.), formerly so generally used as a school classic; *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* (in part; M., n.); *Mérope* (p.M. n.); selections from prose writings, by Prof. COHN (He., n.).

None of ROUSSEAU'S works have been published in this country in the original, but teachers interested in educational theories can get ROUSSEAU, *Emile, ou de l'Éducation* (J.) in the French edition (*Bibliothèque nationale*) for 40 cts.; and in the same edition, for 50 cts., ROUSSEAU, *La nouvelle Héloïse* (J.).

Those who have no time or inclination to read the latter can at least get a foretaste of the great Romantic period by reading BERNARDIN DE ST. PIERRE, *Paul et Virginie* (J.n.).

There are two editions of BEAUMARCHAIS, *Le Barbier de Séville* (p. M. n.). one by BLOUËT, with very full notes, and the other by AUSTIN DOBSON, with a valuable introduction.

The French literature of the nineteenth century, to which most students, not specialists, will have in the main to confine themselves, offers the greatest variety of productions, instructive or merely entertaining, serious or amusing. No works in the least objectionable will here be named; it is true, the most important works of several of the authors here represented are omitted because they are not adapted for general reading. Of critical works

on this period the following will be found especially useful:

PAUL ALBERT, *La Littérature française au 19^e siècle* (2 vols., J.).

J. BRANDER, MATTHEWS, *French Dramatists of the Nineteenth Century* (Scribner's).

HENRY JAMES, *French Poets and Novelists* (M.).

A. FORTIER, *Sept grands auteurs du 19^e siècle* (He.).

G. PELISSIER, *Le Mouvement littéraire au 19^e siècle* (J.).

F. BRUNETIÈRE, *Questions de critique* (J.).

" *Nouvelles questions de critique* (J.).

Among the most influential of the writers who helped to initiate the Romantic movement were:

MME. DE STAËL, *Dix Années d'exil* (in part; M.n.).

" " *Le Directoire, considérations sur la révolution française* (in part; M.n.).

CHATEAUBRIAND, *Atala, René* (S.).

" *Le dernier Abencérage*, etc. (J.n.).

LAMARTINE, *Jeanne d'Arc* (M.n.v.; He.n.).

" *Graziella* (J.).

" *Méditations* (selections; He.n.).

CRANE, *Le Romantisme français* (P.n.) is to be mentioned as an admirable selection from the works of the French Romanticists. The introduction will be found especially helpful.

Earlier Romanticists:

V. HUGO, *Hernani* (p.M.n.; J.n.).

" *Ruy Blas* (p. He.n.; H.H.n.).

" *Bug Jargal* (He. n.).

" *Les Travailleurs de la mer* (text only, J., notes only, H.H.).

(Mr. W. R. JENKINS, N. Y., has also published handsome editions of the other prose writings of VICTOR HUGO.)

A. DE VIGNY, *Cinq Mars* (S. n.; J.; notes only, H.H.).

" *La Canne de jonc* (He.n.).

" *Le Cachet rouge* (He.n.).

A. DUMAS, *Les Demoiselles de St. Cyr* (p. M.n.).

" *La Tulipe noire* (S.n.).

(Messrs. LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., N. Y.,

have recently published some other works of DUMAS for class use.)

A. DE MUSSET, *On ne badine pas avec l'amour*, and *Fantasio* (p.M. n.).

" *On ne saurait penser à tout* (p.S.n.).

" *Un Caprice* (p.H.H.n.).

" *Il faut qu'une porte soit ouverte ou fermée* (p.S.n.).

" *Pierre et Camille* (He.n.).

TH. GAUTIER, *Scenes of Travel* (M.n.).

" *Volume of Selections* (S.).

There is also a well-edited little volume of essays by the great critic of the Romantic school,

SAINTE-BEUVE, *Causeries du Lundi* (M.n.).

Next follow a number of authors who, though allied to the Romantic school, are distinguished by closer powers of observation, a more vivid interest in the present, and a livelier sense of the real. Some of them belong to the period of transition from Romanticism to Realism; others are classed as idealists; others again as realists. These terms, however, do not exclude each other; an author may proceed from the closest observation of facts and yet strive after an ideal.

P. MÉRIMÉE, *Colomba* (J.n.; S.).

G. SAND, *La Mare au diable* (M.n.; J.).

" *La petite Fadette* (J.; S.; notes only, H.H.).

" *Les Maîtres mosaïstes* (He.n.).

" *La Famille de Germandre* (He.n.).

X. DE MAISTRE, *Voyage autour de ma chambre* (M.n.).

" *La jeune Sibérienne* and *Le Lépreux de la cité d'Aoste* (M.n.).

" *Les Prisonniers du Caucase* (S.).

J. SANDEAU, *Mlle de la Seiglière* (p.M.n.; H. n.).

" *La Maison de Penarvan* (J; p. H.H.n.).

X. B. SAINTINE, *La Picciola* (M.n.).

E. SOUVESTRE, *Un Philosophe sous les toits* (He.n.v.; H.H.n.).

" *Le Testament de Mme Paternal* (p.H.H.n.).

- E. SOUVESTRE, *Confessions d'un ouvrier* (He.n.)
 " *Le Mari de Mme de Solange* (He.n.).
- O. FEUILLET, *Le Roman d'un jeune homme pauvre* (J.; notes only, H.H.)
 " The same dramatized (H.H.n.)
 " *Le Village* (p. H.H.n.)
- E. AUGIER (and J. SANDEAU), *Le Gendre de M. Poirier* (p. J.).
- A. DAUDET, *La belle Nivernaise* (He.n.; J.).
 " *Choix d'Extraits* (He. n.).
- A few of the four hundred plays by SCRIBE, the great French playwright subsequent to the decadence of Romanticism, are worth reading in spite of their lack of style and character-drawing, on account of the author's marvellous skill in the devising and unravelling of plots.
- E. SCRIBE (and E. LEGOUVÉ) *La Bataille de dames* (p.M.n.; H.H.n.).
 " " *Les Doigts de fée* (p.H.H.n.).
- E. SCRIBE, *Le Verre d'eau* (p.M. n.).
 " *Bertrand et Raton* (p. J.).
- Of SCRIBE's disciple
- V. SARDOU, *La Perle noire* (p. J.).
 " *La Haine* (p. J.).
 " *La Patrie* (p. J.),
- the latter dedicated to JOHN L. MOTLEY.
- Two bright and easy little comedies:
- MME. DE GIRARDIN, *La Joie fait peur* (H. H.n.).
- E. LABICHE, *Le Voyage de M. Perrichon* (J.).
- Two or three stories by one of the best French story-tellers:
- E. ABOUT, *Le Roi des Montagnes* (J; S.n.).
 " *L'Homme à l'oreille cassée* (J.).
 " *Le Buste* (J.).
- Three historical and two other tales by
- ERCKMAN-CHATRIAN, *Le Conscrit de 1813* (H.H.n.).
 " " *Le Blocus* (H.H.n.).
 " " *Madame Thérèse* (H. H.n.).
 " " *L'Ami Fritz* (J.; the same dramatized, n. J.).
 " " *Les Fiancés du Grin-derwald* (J.).

Three of the best modern stories, carefully written and well suited for class reading:

- L. HALÉVY, *L'Abbé Constantin* (J.).
 H. GRÉVILLE, *Dosia* (J.).
 J. VINCENT, *Vaillante* (J.).

Historians.

- P. LACOMBE, *Petite Histoire du peuple français* (J., edition with notes—a clear and comprehensive account of the growth of the French nation.)
- CRANE and BRUN, *Tableaux de la Révolution française* (P.n.).

Here may follow two little volumes containing part of the works of one of the most illustrious French historians, the master of a picturesque, yet grave and simple style:

- A. THIERRY, *Lettres sur l'histoire de France* (M.n.).
 " *Récits des temps mérovingiens* (M.n.).

Next, the great theorist and statesman, and vigorous philosophical writer:

- F. GUIZOT, *Guillaume le Conquérant* (J.n.).
 " *Alfred le Grand* (J.n.).
 " *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe* (1 vol.J.).

And MIGNET, philosophical in his method; like GUIZOT, a graceful, forcible writer:

- F. MIGNET, *Charles Quint* (J.).

Then THIERS, whose method is, minutely to reproduce the results of a careful study of persons and events:

- A. THIERS, *Bonaparte en Egypte* (M.n; S.); and MICHELET, the most emotional of all French historians:
 J. MICHELET, *Jeanne d'Arc* (J.).
 " *La Prise de la Bastille* (S.).
 " *Les Croisades* (S.).
 " *Henri IV* (S.).
 " *François I et Charles V* (S.).

The following historical monographs are also well adapted for class reading; they are illustrated:

- B. ZELLER, *Richelieu; François I; Henri IV* (S.).

As a collection of French lyrics, may be recommended

G. MASSON'S *La Lyre française* (M. n.).

The larger print edition of BELLOWS' French-English and English-French *Dictionary* (H.H.) is unquestionably the best of its kind. Its distinguishing features are set forth in the book itself. It is all that the ordinary student needs. Teacher's price, \$1.00.

A. LODEMAN.

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THE FRENCH LITERATURE OF LOUISIANA IN 1889 AND 1890.

I.

ALTHOUGH the Louisianians of French descent study the English language, appreciate the beauty of its literature, and understand how important it is that every American should speak English, yet they remain sincerely attached to the language of their forefathers and are striving to maintain it in all its purity in Louisiana. Their aim (I repeat it here) is certainly praiseworthy and their labors disinterested, for they write for a limited public and can expect no pecuniary advantage and but very little fame. I have before endeavored to make known to our American professors the efforts of my countrymen, and have given a brief account of our French literature from its origin to the year 1888.¹ I now desire to present a sketch of the literature of 1889 and 1890.

In 1889 no work appeared in book form except my 'Sept grands auteurs du XIX^e siècle.' Our literature, since the foundation of "*l'Athénée Louisianais*" in 1876, has generally been published in the *Comptes Rendus* of that society. These publications form each year a volume of some two hundred pages large octavo—a fact worthy of note, as I have before indicated, if we consider that the papers are all written by the members of the Society, and for the sole purpose of maintaining the French language in Louisiana.

The name which is seen oftenest in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Athénée* is that of Dr. ALFRED MERCIER, who, although advanced in years, has all the enthusiasm of a

¹ See 'Transactions of Modern Language Association' for 1886, vol. ii, page 31, and MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. iv, pages 97, 228.

young man. An excellent Greek and Latin scholar, a learned physician, an admirer of DANTE and of CERVANTES, he writes elegantly and forcibly both prose and verse. His works are well known in the State, and he enjoys a well-deserved popularity.

"Sommeil, Rêves, Somnambulisme" is an interesting article by Dr. MERCIER. He calls attention to the strange phenomena accompanying sleep, and mentions how Captain ROSSEL, who was shot during the Commune, required so much sleep that he had to be awakened by the jailor on the morning of the execution; while the Emperor JUSTINIAN, on the contrary, needed only one hour's sleep in the twenty-four. Dreams, in particular, are carefully considered by the author, and we take an interest in the subject on account of its importance in the ancient drama and in the classic French tragedies.

In 1843, on completing his studies in Paris, Dr. MERCIER took a trip to the Pyrenees. He describes his journey in a charming manner, from notes taken at the time. Before leaving Paris he went to pay a visit to his old friend, LAKANAL, the celebrated *Conventionnel*, whose name is associated with the history of education in Louisiana as President of the College of Orleans. LAKANAL introduced the young Louisianian to the great sculptor DAVID (of Angers).

The author gives an excellent idea of the Pyrenees country, and of the customs of the inhabitants both in France and in Spain. Although half a century has passed since the Doctor visited the mountains which nature has placed as a barrier between the two great nations, and although the world has made wonderful progress in civilization since then, it is doubtful whether in these mountainous regions there has been any considerable change in the manners and customs of the people. The Spanish priests must still be drinking from the *porro*, the young men must be hunting the fleet mountain deer, the bear and the wolves, and the hostess of the inn on the roadside must still be selling to the travellers, with a coquettish smile, red, green, blue or yellow garters embroidered with gold or silver on which love mottoes are inscribed. The same costumes must still be

seen as fifty years ago: everything on the high mountains seems to be as immutable as the hard rocks which form them. On leaving the Pyrenees the Doctor exclaims:

"Solitudes grandioses et douces, paix profonde, ciel étoilé, nuit poétique et propice aux méditations où l'âme sonde l'infini qui est en dehors d'elle et celui qui est en elle, est-ce la dernière fois que je jouis de vous? Je l'ignore; en tout cas, adieu et merci!"

In "Rôle des Médailles dans l'histoire des Pays-Bas" Dr. MERCIER makes an analysis of one of EDGAR QUINET's noblest books, 'Fondation de la République des Provinces-Unies.' The author pays a magnificent tribute to WILLIAM THE SILENT and MARNIX DE SAINTE ALDEGONDE, and shows how the liberators of the Netherlands, in their incessant warfare against PHILIP, used medals as a means of rousing the anger and the patriotism of the people. "The Revolution," says QUINET, "spoke incessantly to the people through thousands of brass mouths."

Mrs. EULALIE L. T. ALEIX contributes two charming articles to the *Comptes Rendus* for 1889: "Le Livre d'or de la comtesse Diane," and "Maximes de la vie par la comtesse Diane." Both studies express a philosophy delicate and entirely modern:

"Quelle question redoutez-vous le plus?—Celle pour laquelle une réponse serait un aveu."

"Aimez-vous mieux un coup de pied ou un coup de patte?—Un coup de patte, parce que je peux le rendre en restant bien élevée."

"Quelle est la personne la plus aimable?—Celle qui me persuade que c'est moi."

"Il est rare que la tête des rois soit faite à la mesure de leur couronne."

"C'est le bruit que font nos illusions en s'envolant qui nous les révèle."

"Utilité des Langues Vivantes," by Mr. FRANÇOIS TUJAGUE, is a strong plea in favor of the teaching of the modern languages, and especially of French. He mentions the fact of the closer relations of men in different countries by means of constant travel, and states how immigrants feel at home in a foreign country, if they are able to speak the language of the people among whom they live. He speaks of the admirable literature of the modern nations and of the great thoughts embodied in their masterpieces, and concludes

by urging the Louisianians to study French most diligently. He has faith in the perpetuity of the French language in Louisiana and says:

"Croire que dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché, le français ne sera plus, en Louisiane, qu'un souvenir d'antan, c'est avoir du bon sens des Louisianais, de leur esprit de prévoyance et de leur amour du progrès une opinion erronée."

Dr. G. DEVRON makes some very interesting contributions to the early history of Louisiana and publishes a letter giving curious details of the life in New Orleans four years after the foundation of the city. The letter was written by Father RAPHAEL, *Capucin supérieur de la Mission*. Dr. DEVRON restores with critical accuracy a number of words which had been torn from both edges of the paper. The same letter was translated later by Mr. JOHN GILMARY SHEA, and published in volume ii of the *Historico-Catholic Society of the United States*.

Mr. J. L. PEYTAVIN gives an ingenious explanation of a problem in physics; l'abbé LANGLOIS contributes a scientific paper on botany; Mr. H. DUBOS, a well written article on the "Avantages de la culture des Arts"; and Dr. MERCIER and Mr. E. GRIMA publish some graceful poems.

Mr. GRIMA's "Pour un Nickel" is light and witty, and BOILEAU would have called it "un élégant badinage." A young lady enters a city car and on going to pay her fare perceives that she has forgotten her purse. She stands confused and is on the point of leaving the car, when a young man, like a true knight, rises to relieve her of her embarrassment and steps hurriedly to the box to deposit the needed nickel. But, oh horror! he seeks in vain in his pockets, not a cent is to be found. He already thinks of rushing out and of going into exile in some distant land, when on touching his watch chain he finds a nickel in a ring:

"Marthe, ma vieille bonne, au moment de mourir
Voulant me laisser d'elle un dernier souvenir,
L'avait mis en mes mains: "Tiens, prends-le, me dit-elle,
Pour te porter bonheur."—Et Marthe disait vrai,
Mon bonheur est parfait.—La jeune demoiselle
Qui n'avait pas de bourse et pour qui je payai,
L'inconnue aux yeux noirs, est maintenant ma femme.
Entre ses frères mains j'ai pu risquer mon âme.—
Oui, nous sommes heureux, et, fortuné mortel,
Mon bonheur si parfait n'a coûté qu'un nickel."

No analysis could give an idea of the harmonious verses of Dr. MERCIER. Let us quote the dialogue between the Suns and the Night:

LES SOLEILS.

Nous sommes les Soleils, les vainqueurs de la Nuit;
Devant nous elle fuit et meurt. A nous l'espace!
A nous l'éternité, nous dont la flamme enlace
L'immensité profonde et partout resplendit!

Gloire à nous, rois puissants dont le regard féconde
Les sphères décrivant leur orbite autour de nous!
Notre chaude clarté réjouit chaque monde;
La vie est un bienfait de nos feux purs et doux.

A nous seuls appartient l'étendue infinie;
Immortels nous flottons et toujours avançons,
Nés de nos mouvements, des fleuves d'harmonie
Circulent dans l'éther partout où nos passions.

LA NUIT.

Vous mentez, ô Soleils! à moi seule appartiennent
L'espace sans limite et l'immortalité.
Au-delà des lointains où vos rayons parviennent,
Mon noir abîme étend sa morne immensité.

Semés de loin en loin sur mon manteau d'ébène,
Vous ornez pour un temps ma sévère beauté;
Il n'est permis qu'à moi, moi votre souveraine,
De dire à haute voix:—J'ai toujours existé.

D'innombrables soleils, avant votre naissance,
Étincelaient déjà sur l'abîme sans fond:
Où sont-ils aujourd'hui? qui pleure leur absence?
Qui cherche leur éclat disparu de mon front?

Cessez donc, orgueilleux, de chanter vos louanges!
Eclairez, échauffez les mondes habités.
Je vous absorberai, passagers phalanges,
Quand par le temps qui fuit vos jours seront comptés."

Our literature published in 1889 is certainly very creditable. I shall try to prove in a second paper that the works which appeared in 1890 are likewise interesting and important.

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THE PHONETICS OF FRENCH *noël* AND *novel*, PROVENÇAL *nadal* AND *noël*.

FRENCH *noël* is a word whose etymology (NATALE) is certain, but whose form—which should regularly be *naël*—has never been satisfactorily accounted for.¹ Of those who have treated the word, some have contented them-

¹ Deserving to be cited by the side of the happiest inspirations of ISIDORE of Seville, is the alternative etymology of *no l* offered by the 'Grand Dictionnaire Larousse,' s. v.: "ou abréviation d' *Emmanuel*, c'est dire, Dieu avec nous, qui est un des surnoms de Jésus."

selves with pointing out its irregularity, others have suggested explanations that have not gained acceptance.²

SCHÉLER, for example ('Dictionnaire,' 3^e éd. 1888) remarks, s. v., "pour cette substitution de *o* à *a*, cp. vfr. *noer*, it. *notare*, du lat. *natare*, fr. *poêle*, subst. fém. p. *paêle*."—HORNING, in his "Précis de la phonétique etc.," p. 11, §27^b (Introduction to BARTSCH and HORNING, 'La Langue et la littérature françaises,' 1888), remarks: "Dans d'autres cas, il y a eu assimilation de l'*a* à la voyelle suivante, parfois sous l'influence d'un *b* ou d'un *v*: *pour* (PAVOREM), *poun* (PAVONEM), *taons* (*TABANNUM), *pouz* (fr. *repu*). Remarquez encore *o* dans *soolle* (SATULLAT), *noel* (NATALIS), *noer* (NATARE)."

In his minutely detailed review of this work, (*Romania* xviii, pp. 136-159, M. GASTON PARIS comments as follows (p. 158, ll. 8, 9) on this last observation: "*Soolle*, d'une part, *noer* d'autre, sont des phénomènes bien différents et de date et de caractère," thus deliberately refraining from expressing any opinion on the subject of *noël*. SCHWAN, however, in his 'Grammatik des Altfranzösischen' (1888), §124, Anm., had meanwhile ventured a new explanation:

"Eine scheinbare Ausnahme macht *Noël*, das man von NATALEM (sc. *diem*) ableitet; es ist aber vlt. NOTALE (zugleich eine Anbildung an *notus*) anzusetzen (vgl. §54)." But this is perhaps a case for laying to heart MEYER-LÜBKE's timely warning ('Grammaire des langues romanes' i, p. 7.) "On ne peut être assez prévenu contre l'abus qui consiste à mettre sur le compte du latin vulgaire tout ce qu'on ne peut expliquer sur le champ."

More recently (*Romania* for Jan. 1890, vol. xix, p. 124), in a review of the 'Recueil de mémoires philologiques présenté à Gaston Paris. . . par ses élèves suédois,' M. PARIS openly objects to an explanation there attempted of the irregularity in *noël*: "*Noël* est propre au français, mais il est si ancien qu'il est peu probable qu'il soit dû au besoin d'écarter le groupe *aë*, qui, en ancien français, était très habituel: c'est un mot qui attend encore une explication.—To this he adds in a foot-

² LITTRÉ, s. v., does not remark the peculiarity. All the dialect forms cited by him show *o* in the first syllable.

note: "Noël se trouve en anglo-normand (voy. Godefroy).—L'anc. fr. présente une masse d'autres exemples de substitution d'un *o* à une atone devant une voyelle: *poon, roïne, noeler*, etc., mais ils ont toujours à côté d'eux la forme normale, et ils n'ont pas, en général, pénétré dans la langue actuelle."

Doubtless no one who has been struck by the difficulty of explaining phonetically the word *noël*, has failed to consider the possibility of its having been influenced by Latin *novus* or *NOVELLUS*; but as there has not appeared to be any traceable analogy or connection between the two words, no suggestion of such an influence has ever, so far as I am aware, appeared in print. I believe, however, that a relation of reciprocal influence at one time subsisted between the French representatives of Latin *NATALEM* and *NOVELLUM*, and that it is possible to point to the adequate and veritable historical nexus between the words *noël* and *novel*.

Most plausible and convincing of the theories advanced in favor of regarding the celebration of Christmas as an adaptation or transformation of a previously existing Jewish or heathen festival, is that which associates Christmas with the Roman *Brumalia*, or the *Natalis Invicti* [*Solis*] celebrated at the winter solstice; nor are direct indications of the correctness of this view wanting in the early Christian fathers. In the works of *CHRYSOSTOM* is found a homily (believed to be spurious, but at any rate written not long after his time), in which the author speaks of the institution of Christmas as follows:

Sed et *Invicti Natalem* appellant. Quis utique tam invictus nisi Dominus noster, qui mortem subactam devicit? Vel quod dicunt *Solis esse Natalem*, ipse est Sol Justitiae, de quo Malachias propheta dixit, Orietur vobis timentibus nomen ipsius Sol Justitiae et sanitas est in pennis ejus."

And now, precisely to the point of our present inquiry, may be cited a passage from a sermon formerly imputed to *AMBROSE* (*Sermo de Nativitate* vol. ii, 1113, ed. Paris, 1570).³

"Bene quodammodo sanctum hunc diem Natalis Domini *Solem novum vulgus appellat*, et tanto sui auctoritate id confirmat, ut *Judaei etiam et Gentiles in hanc vocem consentiant*.

³ For this and the following citations I am indebted to SMITH'S 'Dictionary of Antiquities,' s. v. Christmas.

Quod libenter amplectandum nobis est, quia oriente Salvatore, non solum humani generis salus, sed etiam solis ipsius claritas innovatur" (*Serm. 6 in Appendice* p. 377 ed. BENED.).

Scarcely less notable is the following passage from *LEO the Great* (end of fourth century): "quibus haec dies solemnitatis nostrae, non tam de Nativitate Christi, quam *de novi* ut dicunt *solis ortu*, honorabilis videtur" (*Serm. 22, §6, vol. i, p. 72, ed. BALLERINI*). And again: Sed hanc adorandam in caelo et in terra Nativitatem nullus nobis dies magis quam hodiernus insinuat, et *nova* etiam in elementis *luce radiante*, coram sensibus nostris mirabilis sacramenti ingerit claritatem (*Serm. 26 §1, p. 87*).

Indeed, so fully has the popular consciousness in the early centuries become impressed by the association of the *Natalis Domini* with the idea of the *Solem novum*, that even the ancient Christian poets are found honoring this conception in their sacred verse. Thus *PRUDENTIUS*, in his hymn "Ad Natalem Domini" ('*Cathemerinon*, xi, init., p. 364, ed. *AREVALUS*):

"Quid est, quod arctum circulum
Sol jam recurrens deserit?
Christusne terris nascitur
Qui lucis auget tramitem?"

And still more pointedly *PAULINUS* of Nola (*Poema* xiv, 15-19, p. 382, ed. *MURATORI*):

Nam post solstitium, quo Christus corpore natus
Sole novo gelida mutavit tempora brumae,
Atque saluiferum praestans mortalibus ortum,
Procedente die, secum decrescere noctes
Jussit.

When the homilist says that *hunc diem Natalis Domini Solem novum vulgus appellat*, he evidently means that the people call Christmas day in the vernacular *Novel Soleil*, which would early be abbreviated to simple *Novel*, and would continue to compete for a certain length of time with the more authorized *Nadel*. It can hardly be doubted, moreover, that the influence of *Novel* was reinforced by the fact that in the time of *CHARLEMAGNE* Christmas was appointed to be observed as the first day of the New Year (*novel an*), and continued to be so regarded for a long period. And when now we reach the point of the disappearance of intervocalic consonants, we have *naël* (*nadel*) naturally merging its identity in *noël* (*novel*).

But this is not the end of the story. I speak here of the law of the disappearance of intervocalic consonants in French as applying equally to NATALE and NOVELLU, and so it should do. MEYER-LÜBKE, 'Grammaire des langues romanes' says truly (§446): "En FRANÇAIS, *v* [intervocalique avant l'accent] tombe de même qu'après l'accent dans le voisinage d'un phonème labial: *ouaille*" [OVALIA]; yet it has not occurred to him, nor apparently to any other Romance phonetician, to inquire why, of all words; the familiar *nouvel*, far from conforming to this simple rule, should not in a single instance in French literature, present the form *noel* (not one, for example, of the numerous citations of *noel* and its derivatives in GODEFROY'S Dictionary, exhibits the loss of the medial consonant.⁴ In view of what has been brought out above, is it not warrantable to infer that the reason for the surprising survival of the *v* in *nouvel* was the need of a differentiation between (the cross-form) *noel*=NATALE—which, in addition to its primary meaning, had acquired very wide use in the sense of 'carol,' and as a general exclamation of joy—and *noel*=NOVELLU? It is true that *noel* might have later developed again *nouvel*, just as *poir* developed *pouvoir*, but the point is that *noel* (=NOVELLU) is nowhere found in Old French.

Let us see what light the corresponding Provençal forms may have to throw on this question. In South France we find a perfectly normal development of both words, viz., *nadal* and *noel* (or *novel*): NATALE, on the one hand, not having been crossed by the influence of NOVELLUM, has remained (with reference to its first vowel) *nadal*; NOVELLU, on the other hand, not needing to be differentiated from a form *noel*, itself freely developed into *noel*—as we may be reasonably sure it would have done, under like conditions, in North France.

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⁴ As a matter of fact, the word *nouvelle* (NOVELLA) stands quiet and unnoted by the side of *noel* (NATALE) in MEYER-LÜBKE'S table (§405) illustrating the persistence of initial consonants. GRÜBER (Grundriss, I, p. 241 §23) incidentally cites the derivatives of NOVUS, NOVELLUS in a connection that should have suggested to him the irregularity of the form *nouvel*.

VARIOUS.

I. THE CAMBRIDGE ST. MARGARET.

In a recent number of *Romania* (xix, 477-8) M. PAUL MEYER, criticising the version of the above text given in MOD. LANG. NOTES vol. v, cols. 141-150, suggests certain corrections and emendations which I take this opportunity of acknowledging and accepting.

- v. 135. *Le richies* is doubtless a copyist's error for *De rechief*.
- v. 186. *Mes un autre diable a son senestre estat*. This reading reconciles the French version with the Latin (cf. note to this verse).
- v. 210, for *neie* read *veie*. I had already made a similar suggestion, *deveer* for *deneer* in v. 335.
- v. 242. *Ne est dreit que digne chose te rescut ne die*.
- v. 274, *cheftif*, not *chestif*.
- v. 280, for *embruler* read *embraser*.
- v. 362, read *Ven l'en en parays*.

II. THE OXFORD ST. JULIANA.

Some two years ago I transcribed the 'Vie Sainte Juliane' of the Bodleian MS. Canon. Misc. 74, supposing it to be an unpublished text. I subsequently discovered that the poem had been printed by FEILITZEN (in 1883) as an appendix to 'Li Ver del Juise.' My copy enables me to suggest certain emendations in the printed text.

At v. 526 FEILITZEN reads

Et Faraon un riche roi
Noiai en meir par mon bo[n] foi

The reading of the MS., *bofoi*, presents no difficulty.

v. 652. *Vu(u)lle u non*. The MS. reads *U vulle u non*.

v. 1043. *Mahumez moi puisset confondre*
Se ne tar enz trestote en puldre:

tar should read *tart*.

v. 1545. *Ne en hontage crimineil*
Nes mettet nun pechiet morteil.

It is difficult to see why the editor changed the reading of the MS. *n'en pechiet morteil*.

III. ETYMOLOGY OF *bâche*.

SCHULER simply refers this word to the

same origin as *bac*. I would suggest the Latin substantive *baxa* (or *baxea*),¹ which signified a sandal worn on the stage by comic actors. For the development of meaning it is interesting to compare *botte* (a. chaussure; b. tonneau). See SCHELER under *butte*, 2.

IV. THE FORM *apprentif*.

SCHELER assigns the earliest appearance of this form to the sixteenth century. It would seem however to occur in the thirteenth century 'Berte,' published by SCHELER himself (v. 13).²

V. IN ILLUSTRATION OF DANTE, INFERNO I, 30.

Si che il piè fermo sempre era il più basso.

This verse finds a parallel in ARIOSTO 'Orl. Fur.' xxviii, 63.

Fa lunghi i passi e sempre in quel di dietro
Tutto si ferma, e l'altro par che muova
A guisa che di dar tema nel vetro.

I do not know whether the two passages have already been confronted. The comparison would in any case support the explanation of WITTE: "Der ruhende Fuss stand bei jedem Schritte niedriger als die Stelle auf welche der vorschreitende zu stehen kam."

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"SONG TO WINIFREDA" AND ITS AUTHOR.

IN reading, several years ago, vol. xxviii of SANFORD'S 'British Poets,' published in 1819, I was struck by the remarkable correspondence, in thought, word, and rime, of the following stanza, to a half-stanza of TENNYSON'S "Lady Clara Vere de Vere":

"What tho' no grants of royal donors
With pompous titles grace our blood;
We'll shine in more substantial honors,
And to be noble we'll be good."

Every reader will at once recall the familiar lines,

¹ PLAUTUS, Men. ii, 3, 40. The dictionaries also refer to its occurrence in APFULEIUS and TERTULLIAN.

² I am relying upon CLÉDAT'S transcription of SCHELER'S text ('Morceaux,' p. 58, l. 7). SCHELER'S edition is not at my disposal.

"Howe'er it be, it seems to me
Tis only noble to be good:
Kind hearts are more than coronets
And simple faith than Norman blood."

It is more than probable that TENNYSON is here, whether consciously or not, indebted to the author of the preceding stanza, which is the second in an old poem called a "Song to Winifreda," or sometimes simply "Winifreda."

But the authorship of this song, and not TENNYSON'S indebtedness, is what I would here call attention to.

In the edition of the 'British Poets' above referred to, the "Song to Winifreda" is given among the poems of JOHN GILBERT COOPER, who lived from 1723 to 1769, was a sympathizer with the Shaftesbury school of thinkers, a sworn enemy of WARBURTON, and a servile admirer of AKENSIDE. SANFORD adds, also under COOPER'S name, "A Father's Advice to his Son: An Elegy in Imitation of the Old Song to Winifreda," a title which ought at least to have suggested a doubt in the mind of SANFORD and his predecessors, as to the authorship of the "Song to Winifreda," for, had COOPER written this song, he would surely never have referred to it as an "Old Song."

THOMAS CAMPBELL, however, in his 'Specimens of the British Poets' (1819), vol. vi, 93, after a brief sketch of COOPER'S life, quotes the song as undoubtedly written by COOPER.

RITSON, in his 'English Anthology' (1794), vol. ii, 126, gives under COOPER'S name the "Elegy in Imitation of the Old Song to Winifreda," but neither cites nor discusses the song itself.

ANDERSON breaks the monotony at last by the following meagre but accurate statement, found in his 'Works of the British Poets' (1795), vol. x:

"The admirers of simple and elegant poetry are obliged to Cooper for bringing them acquainted with the Song to Winifreda, inserted in his Letters on Taste."

This statement, though true as far as it goes, is somewhat non-committal, and a hurried reading of it probably led CAMPBELL and SANFORD astray; for ANDERSON places the song among COOPER'S poems, though apparently aware that COOPER was not the author.

This volume of 'Letters on Taste'—more accurately 'Letters concerning Taste'—was COOPER'S most popular work. Appearing anonymously in 1754, it hastily ran through three editions, wrested a grunt of approval from Dr. JOHNSON, and won such unstinted praise from smaller critics that in 1757 COOPER acknowledged it as his own.

This volume puts at rest the question of COOPER'S relation to the song under discussion. In Letter xiv, to "Leonora," congratulating her upon "the accomplishment of all your own wishes, and those of a man who I believe is as dear to you as yourself," he adds,

"As it was not then in my power to amuse you with any poetry of my own composition, I shall now take the liberty to send you, without any apology, an old song, wrote above a hundred years ago upon a similar occasion, by the happy bridegroom himself. And tho' this old song has been so little heard of, and as yet introduced into no modern collection, I dare venture to pronounce there is in it more genuine poetry, easy turn of thought, elegance of diction, delicacy of sentiment, tenderness of heart, and natural taste for happiness, than in all the compositions of this sort I ever read in any language."

The song is then given in full. Bishop PERCY, eleven years later, inserts it in his 'Reliques' with the following comment:

"This beautiful address to conjugal love . . . was, I believe, first printed in a volume of Miscellaneous Poems by several hands, published by David Lewis, 1729. It is there said, how truly I know not, to be a translation from the ancient British language."

Rev. GEO. GILFILLAN, in his edition of the 'Reliques' (1858) i, 260, prefaces the song as follows:

"There are one or two claimants for the authorship of this exquisite song, such as one J. G. Cooper and Geo. Alexander Stevens, but the song appeared while the former of these was a child and the other a youth."

GILFILLAN simply accepts PERCY'S date, 1726, as correct, but does not investigate the subject.

Had the poem been found in PERCY'S Folio MS., light would probably have been thrown on it in the masterly revision of HALES and FURNIVALL; but such was not the case.

The original authorship is still an open question, but if we accept the statements of COOPER and PERCY, it is clear, (1) that the song, though written in the first half of the

seventeenth century, was not printed till 1726; (2) that this publication of 1726 did not avail to give it general publicity; (3) that this general publicity was first won for it by COOPER in 1754; (4) that, though latterly attributed to COOPER, he was never a "claimant for its authorship," as GILFILLAN would have him. This is shown not only by his express disclaimer in the letter cited, but by the title of his Elegy.

Whether COOPER first saw the song in LEWIS'S collection (1726), or whether PERCY first saw it in COOPER'S letters (1754), "doth not yet appear"; but both conjectures are plausible.

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THE THREE RONDEAUX OF SIR THOMAS WYATT.

As is well known to students of earlier English poetry, Sir THOMAS WYATT composed nine poems which have come down to us classed as rondeaux. It is equally well known that but three of these nine poems found their way into that collection of miscellaneous poetry published in 1557 under the title of 'Tottel's Miscellany'—this miscellany forming a partial first edition of WYATT'S poetry along with certain poems by HENRY HOWARD, Earl of Surrey, and other compositions by unknown authors. These three poems which did appear in TOTTEL'S collections were curiously disguised in form. Apparently they had fallen into the hands of some person—possibly the editor—ignorant of their appropriate peculiarity of verse arrangement, who had set himself straightway to reduce the unfamiliar rondeau form to a certain semblance of the sonnet type, which he evidently thought preferable, if not intended. The result is a curious anomaly corresponding to no standard of verse arrangement to be found in WYATT'S poetry or elsewhere.

The text of these rondeaux as given by Dr. NOTT in his notable edition of the poet, London, 1815, based upon the reading of the Harington MS. No. (1), presumably WYATT'S own MS.,* differs materially from TOTTEL'S

*For a more complete discussion of these texts, see the monograph: 'Sir Thomas Wyatt and his Poems,' D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1889.

text, and preserves for us the true rondeau form in which the poems were originally cast. Yet strangely enough all subsequent editions have followed TOTTEL's reading in preference to NOTT's, the Aldine and the Riverside editions among them; and this in spite of the fact that attention was called to the dubious reading by AUSTIN DOBSON in the *Athenæum* in 1878. Recent study of the poet has suggested a few notes which may be worth

preserving; and inasmuch as NOTT's volume is not generally accessible to American students, it may not be amiss to reproduce here the text of the Harington MS. as NOTT has given it to us—unfortunately with spelling modernized and consequent slight change of form.

The two readings are given in parallel columns.

NOTT'S READING.

Rondeau I.

1. BEHOLD, LOVE, thy power how she despiseth:
2. My great pain, how little she regardeth.
3. The holy oath, whereof she takes no cure,
4. Broken she hath, and yet she bideth sure
5. Right at her ease, and little thee dreadeth.
6. Weaponed thou art, and she unarmed sitteth:
7. To thee disdainful her life she leadeth:
8. To me spiteful, without cause or measure:
9. Behold, Love!
10. I am in hold, if thee pity moveth,
11. Go bend thy bow that stony hearts breaketh,
12. And with some stroke revenge the displeasure
13. Of thee and him that sorrow doth endure,
14. And, as his lord, thee lowly here entreateth.
15. Behold Love!

Rondeau II.

1. WHAT VAILETH TRUTH, or by it to take pain?
2. To strain by steadfastness for to attain,
3. To be just and true, and flee from doubleness?
4. Since all alike, where ruleth craftinesse,
5. Rewarded is, both false and plain.
6. Soonest he speeds that most can feign:
7. True meaning heart is had in disdain.
8. Against deceit and doubleness,
9. What vaileth truth?
10. Deceived is he by crafty train,
11. That means no guile, and doth remain
12. Within the trap without redress.
13. But for to love, lo, such a mistress
14. Whose cruelty nothing can refrain,
15. What vaileth truth?

Rondeau III.

1. GO, BURNING SIGHES, unto the frozen heart,
2. Go Break the ice which pity's painful dart
3. Might never pierce; and if mortal prayer
4. In heaven be heard, at least I desire
5. That death or mercy be end of my smart.
6. Take with thee pain, whereof I have my part,
7. And eke the flame from which I cannot start;
8. And leave me then in rest I you require.
9. Go burning sighs!
10. I must go work, I see, by craft and art,
11. For truth and faith in her are laid apart.
12. Alas I cannot therefore assail her
13. With pitiful plaint and scolding fyre,
14. That out of my breast doth strainingly start.
15. Go burning sighs!

TOTTEL'S READING.

Rondeau I.

BEHOLD, LOVE, thy power how she despiseth:
My grevous payn how little she regardeth,
The solemne oathe whereof she takes no cure,
Broken she hath; and yet, she bydeth sure,
Right at her ease, and little thee she dredeth.
Weaponed thou art, and she unarmed sitteth:
To thee disdainful, all her life she leadeth:
To me spitefull, without just cause, or measure.
Behold Love, how proudly she triumpheth,
I am in hold, but if thee pitie meveth:
Go, bend thy bow, that stony hartes breaketh;
And with some stroke revenge the great displeasure
Of thee, ane him that sorow doth endure.
And as his Lord thee lowly here entreateth.

Rondeau II.

WHAT VAILETH TROTH? or by it, to take payn?
To strive by stedfastness, for to attayn
How to be just; and flee from doublenesse?
Sinse all alyke, where ruleth craftinesse,
Rewarded is both crafty false and plain.
Soonest he spedes, that most can lye and fayn.
True meaning hart is had in hye disdain,
Against deceyt, and cloked doublenesse,
What vaileth troth, or parfit stedfastnesse
Deceavd is he, by false and crafty trayn.
That meanes no gyle, and faithfull doth remayn
Within the trap, without help or redresse,
But for it love (lo) such a stern maistresse,
Where cruelty dwelles, alas it were in vain.

Rondeau III.

GO BURNING SIGHES into the frosen hart,
Go breake the yse which pities painfull dart,
Myght never perce and yf that mortall prayer,
In heaven be herd, at lest yet I desire:
That death or mercy end my wofull smart.
Take with thee payn whereof I have my part,
And eke the flame from which I cannot start,
And leave me then in rest, I you require:
Go burning sighs fulfil that I desire.
I must go worke I see by craft and art,
For truth and faith in her is laid apart:
Alas, I can not therefore assaile her,
With pitefull complaint and scalding fier,
That from my brest disceivably doth start.

The first result of the comparison is the removal of any doubt as to the priority of the rondeau arrangement. That must have preceded the arrangement preserved by TOTTEL; it could not in the nature of things have followed from it. In this connection it is interesting to examine the original of the third rondeau, which is in part a translation of PETRARCH'S 102d sonnet, *Ite, caldi sospiri, al freddo core*. The first four verses of the rondeau are a very close translation of the opening quatrain of the sonnet; and the fourth verse reads as follows in NOTT, in PETRARCH, and in TOTTEL:

"That death or mercy be end of my smart."

"Morte o mercè sia fine al mio dolore."

"That death or mercy end my wofull smart."

There can be no doubt as to priority of translation

Secondly we note the evident purpose of the alterations. Not only is the rondeau distorted into an anomalous combination of fourteen verses, but there are numerous additions obviously designed to remedy defects in metre or in accentuation. In the first rondeau, with the exception of the change from *holy* to *solemne* in v. 3, and the filling out of the refrain, all the changes are of this nature; and the case is similar with the second and third.

Let us look for a moment at the verse construction. Taking NOTT's reading as a basis, we find that with exception of v. 14 in the first rondeau, and v. 8 in the third, every line of these two poems contains exactly ten syllables (the refrain, of course, not coming into the account). The rime-scheme corresponds to this division and confirms it. Hence we have to read, more or less mechanically:—

"Behold, Love, thy power how she d'spisèth;
My great pain how little she régardèth,"

with an appreciable subordinate accent on the final syllable, which is intended to serve as accented rime-syllable throughout. The word *power* (v. 1) is here monosyllabic. Thus read we have a rime-scheme as follows; *d'spisèth*: *régardèth*: *dreadèth*: *sittèth*: *leadèth*: *movèth*: *breakèth*: *èntreatèth*. In the rondeau arrangement there are but two rime-sounds: the second rime is thus exhibited:—

"And with some stroke revenge the d'spleasure
Of thee and him that sorrow doth endùre."—

and the scheme is in full: *cûre*: *sûre*: *measûre*: *d'spleasûre*: *endûre*. A similarly accentuated rime is found again and again in WYATT'S poems, merely perpetuating an older pronunciation which was now passing out of vogue. Thus in the third rondeau we must read—

"Might never pierce; and if mortal *prièr*
In heaven be heard, at least I *d'sièr*."—

and the rime runs on: *rèquière*: *hèr*: *fièr*. And so we find a correct rime-principle in these two poems, carried out too with great regularity. We cannot forbear to add in passing that this peculiar verse structure, by no means confined to these two rondeaux, but often characteristic of WYATT'S poems, presumably the earlier ones, is very suggestive of a method of scanning more artificial than is generally suspected; and calls attention to what might prove an interesting field of study.

The second rondeau differs from the other two in that after the first four verses, the metre passes from the five-accent measure into the old four-accent verse familiar to WYATT'S readers in the poems:

"I abide and abide; end better abide," (Ald. ed. 20).

"I am as I am and so will I be," (" " 147).

"Sometime I sigh, sometime I sing," (" " 112).

"Help me to seek! for I lost it there;" (" " 24).

In this rondeau syllables have been added to make the defective verses conform to the regular five-accent type. The alteration in v. 14 is necessary because of the lost refrain.

Now the question as to the identity of the emendator still remains. Was it the poet himself who made the changes, or was it some other? First, as to the possibility that it be WYATT'S work. In my discussion of the poem "How oft have I, my dear and cruel foe" (Monograph, p. 62), I have tried to show that in some cases TOTTEL'S reading is really based upon a version later than that contained in the Harington MS. and coming from the poet's own hand. There was opportunity for such emendation during WYATT'S period of restful retirement at Allington in 1541-2,

" in Kent and Christendom
Among the Muses, where I read and rhyme;"

as he wrote to his friend JOHN POINS in his second satire. And even Dr. NOTT surmised that Sir THOMAS might have been planning for the publication of his works.

Secondly, are there any indications of WYATT's handiwork in either of the three rondeaux? The first rondeau contains nothing of significance. The change from *holy* to *solemne* (v. 3) is not called for by any metrical irregularity; it is, however, a pleasanter reading, but may as well be a corruption as a correction of the text. It should be noted that the refrain verse is awkwardly patched out; and that we here have an *a*-rime where the other two poems show a *b*-rime, the greater ease with which it could be supplied probably accounting for this variation. The third rondeau is perhaps not quite so unfruitful as the first; for while it is possible that the changes in verses 5 and 14 may be the emendations of an editor who found the original metre too harsh to be retained, it is strange that other verses fully as discordant should have been admitted unaltered. These are quite important alterations, manifest improvements, and do no violence to the thought. The poem, as we have seen, is a partial translation of a sonnet; and several of its verses fall into the old four-accent type: these facts may have suggested the working over of the poem.

The second rondeau possibly does contain distinct traces of WYATT's pen. Let me for comparison quote from the poem "Give place all ye that doth rejoice" (Ald. ed. 133) one stanza:—

"What vailleth truth, or steadfastness,
Or still to serve without reproof!
What vailleth faith or gentleness,
Where cruelty doth reign as chief!"

The similarity in the wording of this stanza to verses 9 and 14 in the rondeau, may be a mere coincidence, but it is certainly suggestive, and I incline to think the two passages are the work of the same hand. The poem from which the quotation is made does not appear in the 'Miscellany,' and probably was never under the eye of its editor; had it been known to him, it would doubtless have been printed with the sonnets. As before stated, v. 14 required alteration when the refrain

was dropped, and hence the motive for the change. Less significant, but possibly of interest, is the fact that WYATT uses the combination "lie and feign" in his second satire, "Say he is rude, that cannot *lie and feign*" (v. 73), and that in the same satire he twice uses the expression "to cloak":—

"To cloak the truth, for praise without desert" (v. 20);

"With nearest virtue aye to cloak the vice" (v. 61).

There is no great stress to be laid upon this recurrence of the words, but as they happen to be expressions of unusual vigor, it is in point to note that they are not altogether strange to WYATT himself: "*crafty* false" (v. 5) is evidently a borrowing from v. 10; and the "*false* and *crafty*" of that verse is an example of fair exchange. I am not blind to the possibility that "*parfit steadfastness*," of the refrain verse, may have been suggested by the wording of v. 2; but I do not depart from my conjecture. Verse 3 is a puzzle; the extra syllable in the first measure was doubtless the cause of the alteration, but the change is certainly unfortunate, and, to my mind, uncalled for. WYATT frequently admits an extra syllable in his latest versification, several instances occurring in the satires confessedly productions of his later period. The sense is rendered very obscure by the change; and here possibly is an instance of editorial criticism.

Is there any known reason why WYATT should have changed the form of his rondeaux thus? Apparently none. And yet might he not have made these alterations in part at least? He might; and I believe he did. If one could only find some trace of the Harington MSS., a careful study of the text, especially that of "MS. No. 2," to which NOTT makes occasional obscure reference, might give an answer to this, and to some other riddles as well. Until such an examination has been made, it is idle to affirm one thing or the other; the contrary possibility always remains. Meanwhile it is certainly more gracious to retain the reading of a text indubitably stamped with the poet's autograph, and of particular interest from its priority of date as well as for its superior poetic form and finish.

W. E. SIMONDS.

Knox College.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MADAME ACKERMANN.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES:

SIRS:—A few months since, on my way to Paris, I purchased a copy of the *Figaro* and the first article upon which my eyes fell was a notice of the death of Madame ACKERMANN, with an appreciation of her work.

I made her acquaintance, as a writer, a dozen years ago in Paris. A comrade, whose radical views with regard to all existing institutions were tempered with a discriminating literary sense, placed a collection of her philosophical poems in my hands, warmly commending them. I have since that time introduced her to many another lover of vigorous thought and expression, and she has always been highly esteemed. So when I read in the *Figaro*, "elle est morte hier . . . sortie de la vie sans bruit," I resolved to acknowledge in a measure my debt to her, by sending a line to the MOD. LANG. NOTES.

I have before me, as I write, only two volumes of her poetry, but they represent, I believe, the larger and better part of her work. The first volume is a collection published by Hachette in 1863. My copy, purchased last summer and hitherto unopened, has been guarding for me, beneath its ragged, grimy paper cover, a pleasant surprise. It is a presentation copy:

"A monsieur—

Son ancienne élève,

L. ACKERMANN."

It contains a number of Oriental tales, pleasantly retold. The style and form are not without grace and freshness, but one would be tempted to accept her own judgment touching these rimes:

"Dans mes loisirs j'ai donc à la légère
Rimé ceci."

Bright *causeries* with "amours décents pour camarades," they are too light to win enduring appreciation. They neither respond to any need, nor do they voice any deeper sentiment; nor is their formal perfection such as to insure their being read a generation hence.

But here and there I discover revelations,

faint flashes, of that energetic spirit of revolt that gives their distinguishing character to the best of Madame ACKERMANN's philosophical poems. So I turn again to the second collection, that of 1878, and to old favorites.

The *Figaro* reviewer says that Madame ACKERMANN probably never loved, with deep and tender affection, any one, and certainly never knew, from personal experience, the misery and sufferings of humanity. In her charming hill-side cottage, near Nice, that commanded the blue Mediterranean, she led, in the midst of books, a life of contemplation.

Her poetry, her outcries against God, a future life, a faith in Christ, are not indeed the passionate heart-utterances of one who has been cruelly and persistently deceived. They are poems rather of the head, born of meditation and, I believe also, of companionship with the sea. She has willed that the elements of all human sorrow and undeceiving should deliver, from afar, their message to her. She would thus, removed from the actual struggle and pain, know the concentrated bitterness of all sorrows. As the misery of mankind in the abstract seized fuller and firmer hold of her mind, she found herself—she was inspired. She felt herself called to become the mouthpiece of the dumb myriads of suffering, deluded, perishing humanity:

"We will not bear the pain and raise no protest against that infamous injustice, that, without our will, forced life upon us and then misery. We will not longer bow before a God who plays in his heaven the rôle of a more masterful and more cruel Cæsar. The hope of a reunion with the beloved after death is horrible (*affreux*), since not I but the Christ will become the supreme object of affection—"

Her cries are fierce, harsh, not altogether musical in form, but they are strong and, at least apparently, sincere. As such they charm the ear and mind and rise far above the *vers de société*.

There is no force of argument to persuade our judgments; the cries leave us in a sense cold, because we do not feel the human heart palpitating behind the words. But there is a rugged grandeur of imagery and situation, a cold strength of abrupt expression, that give these philosophic poems unique and, I believe

also, enduring qualities. I will quote a few stanzas showing the purpose and temper of her work.

MON LIVRE.

A l'écart, mais debout, là, dans leur lit immense,
J'ai contemplé le jeu des vagues en démente.
Puis prévoyant bientôt le naufrage et la mort,
Au risque d'encourir l'anathème ou le blâme,
A deux mains j'ai saisi ce livre de mon âme,
Et l'ai lancé par dessus bord.

L'AMOUR ET LA MORT.

She is speaking of Nature:

Elle n'a qu'un désir, la marâtre immortelle,
C'est d'enfanter toujours, sans fin, sans trêve encor.
Mère avide, elle a pris l'éternité pour elle,
Et vous laisse la mort.

PAROLES D'UN AMANT.

Quoi ! le ciel en dépit de la fosse profonde,
S'ouvrirait à l'objet de mon amour jaloux ?
C'est assez d'un tombeau, je ne veux pas d'un monde
Se dressant entre nous.

LA NATURE À L'HOMME.

Tu ne seras jamais dans mes mains créatrices
Que de l'argile à repêtrir.

LE CRI.

The ship which is bearing all humanity is sinking:

Moi qui sans mon aveu l'aveugle Destinée
Embarqua sur l'étrange et frêle bâtiment,
Je ne veux pas non plus, muette et résignée
Subir mon engloutissement.
Puisque, dans la stupeur des détresses suprêmes,
Mes pîles compagnons restent silencieux,
A ma voix d'enlever ces monceaux d'anathèmes
Qui s'amassent contre les cieux.
Afin qu'elle éclatât d'un jet plus énergique,
J'ai, dans ma résistance à l'assaut des flots noirs,
De tous les cœurs en moi comme en un centre unique
Rassemblé tous les désespoirs.
Ah ? c'est un cri sacré que tout cri d'agonie ;
Il proteste, il accuse au moment d'expirer.
Eh bien ! ce cri d'angoisse et d'horreur infinie
Je l'ai jeté ; je puis sombrer !

CHARLES SPRAGUE SMITH.

Columbia College.

THE PEDAGOGICAL SECTION.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES.

SIRS:—The extract from "School Document No. 14" by Prof. C. H. GRANDGENT, of the Boston High Schools, in the last issue of MOD. LANG. NOTES, is a valuable and sugges-

tive contribution to the pedagogy of the modern languages. I beg leave to suggest its further discussion and criticism, in these columns. It is hoped that during the present year increased importance and interest may be given to the Pedagogical Section of the Modern Language Association. For this purpose, I beg that our colleagues and readers, interested in this subject, will communicate to me, or to the Secretary, Dr. VAN DAELL, Boston, any papers or notes to which they may wish to call attention. Topics of discussion will from time to time be suggested in the columns of the MOD. LANG. NOTES. I heartily invite the coöperation of teachers and students of modern languages, in behalf of the Pedagogical Section.

EDWARD S. JOYNES.

Pres. Ped. Sect. of Mod. Lang. Ass'n.

Univ. of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.

BUCHHEIM'S 'JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS.'

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES:

SIRS:—As the mail leaves, I have seen your number (vol. vi, cols. 42-45) in which Mr. NICHOLS finds certain matters to complain of in Professor BUCHHEIM'S 'Jungfrau von Orleans,' which I had the privilege of reviewing in your columns. The learned editor is well able to take care of himself, and will possibly do so. I must, however, take exception to one remark of Mr. NICHOLS. He says that the words in Act i, sc. 4, *Wirf es entschlossen hin nach deiner Krone*, must mean that everything is to be "cast after thy crown," which has already been cast away. No doubt the words can bear literally the meaning which Mr. NICHOLS puts upon them; but I should be glad to be allowed to point out that,

1. DÜNTZER, in his *Erläuterungen*, referring to this passage, has the words "*Alles zur Errettung der Krone zu wagen*."

2. Charles VII had at this time never possessed crown or kingdom, unless we reckon those of the fairly nicknamed *Roi de Bourges*; so that Agnes Sorel's words would have been meaningless had they been used in Mr. NICHOL'S sense.

3. *Nach* is frequently used with the idea

of attaining or acquiring. GRIMM's Dictionary supplies me with two passages: *Abends ging ich aus nach Fischen* (H. SACHS); *nach Heidelbeeren gehen* (CHAMISSO). And therefore I prefer to take *nach* here in the sense in which *after* is used in I. Samuel xxiv, 14: "After whom is the king of Israel come out?"

One or two English and French translations of SCHILLER which I have, favor Professor BUCHHEIM's view; but I do not think his case is strengthened by references to persons who are, after all, of less authority than himself. There are other points on which I would respectfully differ from Mr. NICHOLS; but unfortunately mails wait for no man.

I am more than pleased to note that cultured Americans are giving so much attention to the study of German. When I was on your side of the Atlantic a generation ago, I found little opportunity of speaking or discussing that noble language except among immigrants of German birth.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

FRANK T. LAWRENCE.

London, England.

BRIEF MENTION.

An important contribution to the history of French Grammar lies before us under the title: 'Chronologisches Verzeichnis französischer Grammatiken vom Ende des 14. bis zum Ausgange des 18. Jahrhunderts,' nebst Angabe der bisher ermittelten Fundorte derselben zusammengestellt von E. STENGEL. We have here a chronological list of French grammars covering 625 numbers, drawn from 122 libraries of Germany and other European countries; an extensive list of *Nachträge*; a triple index of authors, titles and places of publication; and a paper, "Zur Abfassung einer Geschichte der französischen Grammatik besonders in Deutschland," read before the third annual *Neuphilologentag* held in Dresden, Sept.-Oct. 1888 (cf. MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. iii, pp. 241-44). In this address the author appeals to his colleagues for their co-operation in his difficult undertaking, and states as the object of his compilation:

"Festzustellen, wie sich die grammatische Technik hat, welche verschiedenen Wege man zu verschiedenen Zeiten im französischen Unterricht eingeschlagen, welche intensive und räumliche Verbreitung die französischen Unterrichtsschriften erfuhren, welches Lehrer-

and welches Schülermaterial dieselben benutzte, wer ihre Verfasser gewesen. In zweiter Linie kommen die Ergebnisse...der geschichtlichen Erforschung der französischen Sprache zu gute."—The notes and supplementary data that accompany many of the titles here collected are instructive and suggestive, and add much to the excellence of the collection for the general bibliographer as well as the specialist in languages. It is to be hoped that teachers of French everywhere will make use of the valuable bibliographical materials thus brought together, and that some one in America may be prompted to undertake a work of similar import for our own country.* The Pedagogical Section of The Mod. Lang. Association might appropriately stand sponsor to so interesting and important a labor of love. [Oppeln, Eugen Franck's Buchhandlung. Price 4.50 M.].

A reprint from the *Jahrbuch für Münchener Geschichte*, vol. iv, pp. 45-179 contains an article by Dr. KARL VON REINHARDSTÖTTNER, 'Zur Geschichte des Humanismus und der Gelehrsamkeit in München unter Albrecht dem Fünften.' Beginning with an account of the activity of this prince in favoring the humanities, collecting books and aiding publications, the author continues with a notice of the leading scholars and literary men of the time. Particular prominence is given to the works of CHRISTOPHORUS BRUNO, HIERONYMUS ZIEGLER, the poet, and his followers in the Munich school of poetry, GEORG VAIGEL, KASPAR MACER, the learned SAMUEL VON QUICKEBERGE, the jurist AUERPACH, a crowd of religious writers, among whom JOACHIM HABERSOCK, theologians and dilettanti without number. The labor of extracting all these names, dates and works from manuscripts and obscure prints must have been enormous and have severely taxed both the historical zeal and the fervent patriotism of Dr. VON REINHARDSTÖTTNER. Some idea of the extent of research necessary can be derived from the six hundred and forty-six notes which contain the bibliography and the confirmatory passages, and which by themselves form more than one third of the reprint.

W. R. Jenkins sends us an edition, in cloth binding, of HECTOR MALOT's 'Sans famille,' abridged by PAUL BERCY for the use of classes. It is without notes, but numbers as it stands 432 pp. (\$1.25), forming a sufficiently large volume in its reduced size.—Another text-book is a 'First Course in French Conversation' by C. P. DU CROQUET, consisting of thirty-six lessons on different subjects, of which the first thirty-two present the English translation face to face with the French original. 154 pp. \$1.25.

*Not a single title is here given from our rich American production in this field.

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